

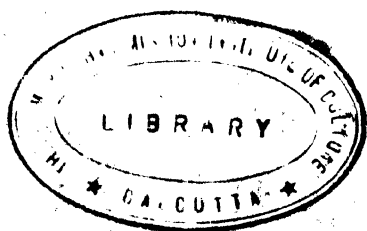
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AMONG THE HINDUS AND CREOLES

OF

BRITISH GUYANA:

*CONTAINING A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE RELIGIOUS, MORAL,
AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE EAST INDIAN
IMMIGRANTS, WHO FORM THE GREAT
BULK OF THE POPULATION;*

*AN ACCOUNT OF THE BLACK AND COLOURED POPULATION
CALLED "CREOLES;" THE RELATIVE POSITION OF
THESE TWO RACES OF PEOPLE TO EACH OTHER;*

AND

*SUMMARIZED PARTICULARS FROM VARIOUS SOURCES OF
THE JUBILEE CELEBRATION OF THE FIFTIETH YEAR
OF FREEDOM OR EMANCIPATION, ON WEDNESDAY,
AUGUST 1, 1838, IN THE THREE COUNTIES OF
DEMERARA, ESSEQUEBO, AND BERBICE,
WRITTEN IN THE INTEREST OF THE
PEOPLE.*

BY REV. H. V. P. BRONKHURST,

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY;

AUTHOR OF "A POCKET COMPENDIUM OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY;" "THE ORIGIN OF
THE GUYANIAN INDIANS ASCERTAINED;" "THE COLONY OF BRITISH GUYANA;"
"THE ANCESTRY OF OUR EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS;" "THE THREE
PRECIOUS MASONIC JEWELS;" ETC. ETC. ETC.

"All men are equal in their birth,
Heirs of the earth and skies;
All men are equal when that earth
Fades from their dying eyes."—*Anon.*

"Perseverance is a virtue
That wins each god-like act, and plucks success
E'en from the spear-proof crest of rugged danger."—*Havard.*

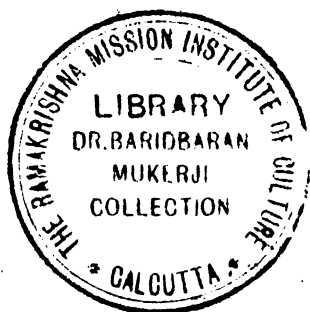
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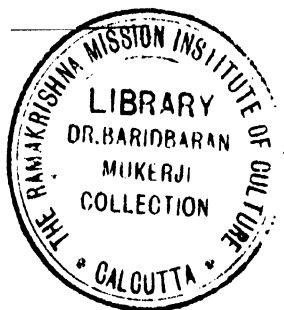
This Little Work,

as a

"JUBILEE SOUVENIR,"

is respectfully dedicated to all the Members of the Christian Churches in England who take a very deep interest in the Colonial Mission Work among the 'Heathen' and others, and by whose united efforts, Fifty Years ago, Eight Hundred Thousand poor Negroes were made free at the cost of Twenty Millions sterling; to all the Members of the Christian Churches in British Guyana and West Indian Islands who are the recipients of that Freedom so secured to them in the Year 1838, and which joyful event they recently celebrated; and to all the Hindo-Guyanians, and other Hindu Christians who on account of their long residence in the Colony of British Guyana have made it their permanent home, and whose language, therefore, is the English.

PREFACE.



IN the extensive Colony of British Guyana, well known to the British public, we have upwards of 100,000 Coolie Immigrants labouring on the different sugar estates. When we look at them we are led to inquire, Whence came they? What is their social connection with the Christian community of the Colony? Of what use are they to us? For what object has God permitted these strangers to leave their home so readily, and come all that distance across the mighty ocean to British Guyana? And how should we as a Church and people communicate to them those blessings of religious instructions we enjoy, and which they stand in need of? These questions may be easily asked, but not easily answered. They are come, as we all know, from a country which is wholly and solely given to the worship of idols of wood and stone. They have been hitherto kept in total ignorance and darkness by their superiors—the proud and arrogant Pharisaic Brahmans—on the great subject of salvation, purchased for their immortal, precious souls by One who is mighty to save, even Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son of God. They have not been taught in their country—which is pre-eminently called “The land of temples and of strange gods”—to worship the only living and true God. They are come from a country which, in the world’s history, is one of the dark places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty. They are all the workmanship of one only Almighty Being,—they are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, and they equally share our physical, intellectual, and spiritual nature; and each one of them possesses an immortal soul, which was at first created in the image and likeness of

God, but now that image erased, and yet a soul, which God our Heavenly Parent loves, for which Christ Jesus died, and unto which everlasting happiness or eternal misery shall be meted on the day of retribution. As nearly all in the Colony look to the Indian coolies for their temporal prosperity and welfare, even so they in return look up to the Christian Churches and Missionary Societies in the Colony and Great Britain for their spiritual and eternal prosperity and welfare, and shall we deny this to them? God forbid. British Guyana and the East Indian Empire, which have been denied to other European nations once our rivals in the field, have now been given to England, the land of Howard, Clive, Carey, Heber, and John Wesley, that she might achieve a glorious destiny by the spread of the English language and English Christianity and influence, and then give them back as Christian countries to the TRIUNE GOD.

The following pages contained in this little book were originally published in the *Demerara Daily Chronicle, Colonist*, and the *Royal Gazette*, and now they are presented to the home readers, who have either directly or indirectly an interest in all that pertains to the Colony and its heterogeneous population, especially the East Indian Immigrants. References to the demoralizing influences of the Creole population will frequently be met with in this book; but I beg to assure the readers that these references only point to a particular class of them on the sugar estates, and in the villages close to such estates. For the Creoles, as a whole, I entertain a high regard, and among them I have some very true and valued friends. Having lived in the Colony twenty-seven years, I consider myself almost a Creole.

THE AUTHOR.

POSTSCRIPT TO THE PREFACE.

SINCE the first instalment of the manuscript, entitled "The Religion and Religious Systems of the East Indian Immigrant Population of British Guyana," with the Preface, was posted in July last, I have, for various reasons, altered the original title of this book to the form in which it now appears before the public. The present title, "AMONG THE HINDUS AND CREOLES," seems more applicable than the former. We have in the Colony (excluding the Chinese, Portuguese, English, Scotch, and some others, who are comparatively few) two principal nationalities—the descendants of the great African race, and the Hindus who have come from the vast Empire of India. The Continent of Africa, or the Dark Continent,—made darker still by the fierce and fanatical Muhammedan Arabs, and the worst class of Europeans, who have been its school-masters for a considerable time,—has, for various important reasons, been claiming the attention of the British public, and there is hardly any respectable, intelligent West Indian of African descent who does not feel interested in every movement made by the British nation to enlighten and civilise that Dark Continent. Africa was the continent which appeared feasible for the introduction of the slave trade, "that execrable sum of all villainies," than which nothing could more tend to the disintegration of society. At the present day, however, "this curse of slavery has been removed from all Christendom, and the only nations now practising it are Muhammedan and Pagan ones;" and this too will soon come to an end through the interference and influence of the British Government. In that Dark Continent "the population is numerous, and one

of the most mixed and scattered on the face of the earth. There is represented almost every shade of skin-colour, from the jet black and copper-coloured natives to the pale or ruddy-coloured European face. There are represented quite as many languages and dialects as were represented on the day of Pentecost; but already Zulus and Tembas, and Kaffirs and Basutos, and Hottentots and Bushmen and Namaquas, and men of almost every language and dialect used in that part of the country, have heard in their own tongue of the wonderful works of God, and all because the Wesleyan and other Christian missionaries in Africa have never recognised more than one humanity—only one." Africa yet has a brilliant future before it. Grand and complete indeed will be the civilisation of the now Dark Continent when it does come. And this I believe can, and will be, only accomplished by the Christian missionaries and other Christian laymen under the fostering care of the British Government. Africa demands and deserves the sympathy and generous help of the Christian world. And those in British Guyana and in British West Indian Islands who have sprung from the great African race, and whose name is Legion, will have to give their sympathy and generous help in a tangible manner to hasten the accomplishment of this brilliant future.

India, the vast Empire whence thousands of labourers have been introduced to supply the labour markets in the West Indies, in Natal, in Mauritius, etc., has too, unfortunately, a mere name to the majority of English men and women, and to the people as a whole in the Guyanas and West Indian Islands. The Hindu coolies have been looked upon by the wise men of the West as half-starved and semi-civilised savages, and the country in like manner whence they come as savagedom. I have, therefore, endeavoured in this book to place before my readers such information as they cannot obtain without much labour and research on their part. I humbly hope the descriptions given here of the people, their religious systems, and their country, will be the means of removing all unjust, uncharitable, and prejudicial notions concerning them. The India of to-day is not the India of 3000 and 4000 years ago.

People forget that India was once a prosperous, a happy, and a civilised country. All the travellers, Greeks, Romans, and Chinese, who visited the country bore testimony to the fact that the Hindus had attained a high state of civilisation. Even now there exist in India masterpieces of art which had been a wonder to Europe. But she fell; and great indeed has been her fall, as I have pointed out in the body of this book. The Rev. T. Frederick Nicholson, Wesleyan Missionary of Madras, in his speech delivered in City Road Chapel, on Monday, 7th May 1888, observed:—

“In reading the history of India, one is struck with the number and variety of the troubles through which it has passed. Grecians, Persians, Tartars, and Muhammedans, from time to time overran the country, carrying death and desolation in their path. Coming to later times, we find the Portuguese, the Danes, the Dutch, and the French at one time or another holding possession of the land; and now we find the inhabitants of a little island in the West ruling the teeming millions of India! I have often wondered why England has been allowed to steal a march with reference to India upon the other nations of the world. I cannot but feel that God has reserved to us to plant there the universal banner of Christ, and that to us is reserved what we believe will be a crowning of the Church’s work,—viz. of the establishment in that land of a kingdom more mighty in its form, more strong in its foundation, and more infinite in its simplicity, than that of the Great Mogul Empire or England herself; for God entrusts us with the solemn task and glorious duty of establishing that kingdom which shall have no end, and the way of which is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. In that work our mission has a place. Hinduism in that land is to the learned an abstruse philosophic system, while to the vast masses of the people it is a gigantic scheme of idolatry; and it is with this phase of the system that your missionaries have principally to deal. There can be no doubt that a once purer and truer religion prevailed than that which now obtains amongst the people. The whole religion of the Hindu community is in the hands of Brahmans, and they have popularized, vulgarized, and devilized the entire system. It is they who have introduced change after change in the simple faith of their fathers. They attach themselves to material objects, and those floodgates of superstition were opened, and

the result is that to-day India is deluged by an idolatry beneath which she is groaning, and bleeding, and perishing, and, thank God, crying to be delivered. We find these people ready to receive the gospel. X It is well known amongst the people that the Brahmans resort to trickery in keeping up the popular delusion. As a class, they are the most plausible flatterers, the most wily hypocrites, the most crafty sophists, and the most accomplished liars in the whole world. Their own religion teaches them that lying is right. I quote from their book: 'A man stating a fact falsely from a pious motive, even though he knows the truth is not excluded by such a statement, is Divine speech.' Y

And the Rev. G. W. Sawday, speaking at the Wesleyan Mission House, on Tuesday, 24th April 1888, observed:—

"I imagine it is not necessary for us to impress upon your minds the degraded condition in which the women of India are at the present time found; but I should like you to remember that this degraded condition of women is really the result of recent legislation—legislation dating back only two or three thousand years. In olden days the women of India were free. They had a voice in the choice of their husbands, and having chosen them, they followed and loved them to the end; and, what was better still, the husbands loved and cherished their wives. The question before us now is this: Are those brighter, better days to return to India, or is the present sad condition of things to go on to the end of the chapter? I hope that we shall all face this question fairly to-night; because if we look on with supine indifference, there is no doubt the cries and groans of the Hindu women and widows will have to ring in our ears for hundreds of years; but if in answer to the question, 'Is this state of things to continue?' we say, 'No, a thousand times no;' then I say this sad state of things shall pass away, and the women of India shall be free, as the women of England are."

X The Brahmans, the inventors and introducers of the abominable idolatrous system, quite foreign to the Tararya ideas, as I have shown in this book, have been, and still are, a curse to the Hindu nation. They are the opposers of every good movement in the direction of promulgation of truth,

to wit, the spread of Christianity and Christian education, the Brahmo Samaj movement, etc., etc.* The people of India themselves have always enjoyed the reputation of being a learned people, even before the Western civilisation, and the rich stores of Sanskrit and Tamil and vernacular literature which have come down to the present age confirm this description. The country has a literature of its own, held in high esteem; and education—English education—has progressed by rapid strides, especially during the fifty years of Queen Victoria's reign. Under the fostering care of the British Government she is rising again, and ere long, when Christianity has won the hearts of the 253 millions of people for JESUS, THE KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS, she will enjoy and realize her former glory in a fuller and richer sense.

And British Guyana, which has for some considerable period been occupied by the descendants of the great African race, has had hitherto very little or no claim upon the British public. Some even do not know in what part of the globe British Guyana is to be found. They only know that sugar is made in the Colony, and that the Colony yields good sugar. This is all the knowledge they have of that magnificent province of sugar and rum. The magnificent Colony, where plenty of gold is now found, is partly allied to Africa and partly to India, and is, in the order of Divine Providence, destined to become, like England her mother, the home of an amalgamated nationality. When the two principal nations now occupying the Colony get to know each other better, they will know how to love each other, and be one people.

H. V. P. BRONKHURST.

8 LOMBARD STREET, GEORGETOWN,
DEMERARA, *September 1888.*

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AMONG THE HINDUS AND CREOLES OF BRITISH GUYANA.



INTRODUCTION.

1. BRITISH GUYANA, the *now* most important Colony of Great Britain in the northern portion of South America, was once an asylum for the redundant population of Barbadoes and other islands in the Caribbean Sea. Geographically speaking, the Colony "is divided into four parts, lying behind each other in belts parallel to the sea-coast. Nearest the sea is the sugar-cane belt, already cultivated to some extent. Then comes the timber-growing belt, penetrated by many beautiful rivers, down which the lumber is floated. The two remaining belts are inhabited only by Indians of the Carib stock, with a slight blending of negro blood here and there from the Bonis, or runaway slaves of the old Dutch. The forest belt, where the Indians live, is uncleared; and all the three belts of land are, as a rule, low, flat, and swampy. But beyond them lies the grass country, the savannahs; our share of this large meadow is about 14,000 square miles in extent, and out of the meadow rise the mountains. The only roads are near the sea, the rivers are the watery ways of the rest of the Colony." In the year 1721 the English nation took possession of the whole Dutch West India Colonies, but at the peace of 1783 they were restored to Holland, when they were almost immediately afterwards taken possession of by the French, who built forts on both sides of the river Demerara, at its mouth. In 1796 the Colonies of Demerara,

Essequibo, and Berbice, being again in the possession of the Dutch, were surrendered to the British, under whose protection their agriculture and commerce increased rapidly; and before they were restored at the peace of Amiens, in 1802, to the Batavian Republic, the exports had risen to nearly 20,000 hogsheads, equal to 35,840,000 lbs., of sugar and about 10,000,000 lbs. of coffee. On the breaking out of war in 1803, they were again surrendered to the British, in whose possession they have ever since remained.

2. In 1613 the colonists or settlers reported the Colony to be in a flourishing condition, and in 1621 the Government undertook to supply the colonists with negro slaves from Africa. LAS CASAS, a philanthropic Dominican friar, was probably the means of introducing slavery into the West Indies. His benevolent purpose or idea was misconstrued by the bloodthirsty slave-owners; and slavery, instead of raising or bettering the condition of the millions of unfortunate wretches imported from Africa, only degraded them to the level of the beasts of the earth, and made their life bitter and hard. The example of God-hating, Christ-rejecting, Sabbath-breaking, over-reaching, profane owners of sugar estates and slaves, was only calculated to spread over the Colony a moral blight, produce a baneful influence over the young of the land, and prove one of the many hindrances to oppose the declaration of the gospel to the slave population, and the spread of Christian truth among them. The owners or masters, who looked upon themselves as the lords of the soil, were far more degraded and depraved than the slaves in their employ. Religion in their day was a thing unheard of, though the colonists were nominally blessed with the presence of religious teachers, or "Predikants," or "Priesters." The slaves were never permitted to see the face of a Christian minister, much less to hear him. The religious and moral condition of the first settlers or colonists and their descendants for some number of years—Dutchmen and Englishmen—after 1803, is graphically described by St. Paul in Romans i. 21-32. Even now there are men in the Colony who deeply regret that slavery was ever abolished from it, and who still persist in supposing

that the inhuman slave trade from Africa receives a stamp of legality and sanction from the Bible. These are the men who are ready to cry down the sayings and doings of the members of the anti-slavery and other Christian or religious and missionary societies. The African negro has seen his worst days over, and now, thank God, he has a bright future before him through Christ and His holy religion.

3. In the year 1836, eight gentlemen, forming a committee, offered a prize for the best "ELEMENTARY BOOK, containing short Lectures, with or without relative Questions or Answers," "intended for the use of the negro population in this Colony, with the view of promoting their religious and moral improvement." The names of the gentlemen who formed that committee were:—"Geo. Bagot, B. J. Hopkinson, Alex. Glen, N. J. F. Bach, A. E. Luthers, N. M. Manget, M. J. Rete-meyer, W. Bruce Ferguson, *Secretary*." The prize was won by the Rev. ALEXANDER MANZIE, Wesleyan missionary, Mahaica, who had but newly arrived in the colony. This "ELEMENTARY BOOK," or Prize Essay, dedicated "To His Excellency Major-General Sir JAMES CARMICHAEL SMYTH, Baronet, etc., etc., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of British Guyana," was printed at the expense of the committee and circulated in the Colony. It is now a rare book. From this, therefore, I take the liberty of placing before my reader one or two extracts having reference to the Creoles as an intelligent race of people:—

"If any one," observes the essayist, "said that they are naturally a dull, stupid race, incapable of being instructed, he must have been a *fool* or a *knave*; a *fool*, if he had not discernment to see that the contrary is the fact—a *knave*, if, seeing it, he could raise such a report to their prejudice. It is true I have not applied the compasses and the square to their heads, and consulted writers on phrenology in order to ascertain, by this means, their intellectual capability; but, judging from the experience I have had as an instructor among them, and from the testimony of others who were fully qualified to form a correct estimate of their mental capacities, I have no hesitation in saying, that in point of natural understanding they are not behind the children in Great Britain."

But hear the statement of one who had thoroughly investigated the character of the negro race :—

“Will it be believed,” says the late Rev. R. Watson, “that this race can, as to intellect and genius, exhibit a brighter ancestry than our own—that they are the off-shoots, wild and untrained, it is true, but still the off-shoots, of a stem which was once proudly luxuriant in the fruits of learning and taste ; whilst that from which the Goths, their calumniators, have sprung, remained hard and knotted and barren? For is Africa without her heraldry of science and of fame? The only probable account which can be given of the negro tribes is, that as Africa was peopled, through Egypt, by three of the descendants of Ham, they are the offspring of Cush, Misraim, and Put. They found Egypt a morass, and converted it into the most fertile country of the world ; they reared its pyramids, invented its hieroglyphics, gave letters to Greece and Rome, and through them to us. The everlasting architecture of Africa still exists—the wonder of the world, though in ruins. Her mighty kingdoms have yet their record in history. She has poured forth her heroes on the field, given bishops to the Church, and martyrs to the fires. And for negro physiognomy, as though that could shut out the light of intellect, go to your national museum, contemplate the features of the colossal head of Memnon, and the statues of the divinities on which the ancient Africans impressed their own forms, and there see, in close resemblance to the negro feature, the mould of those countenances which once beheld as the creations of their own immortal genius the noblest and most stupendous monuments of human skill, taste, and grandeur. In imperishable porphyry and granite is the unfounded and pitiful slander publicly, and before all the world, refuted. There we see the negro under cultivation ; if he now presents a different aspect, cultivation is wanting. That solves the whole case ; for even now, when education has been expended upon the pure and undoubted negro, it has never been bestowed in vain. Modern times have witnessed, in the persons of African negroes, generals, physicians, philosophers, linguists, poets, mathematicians, and merchants, all eminent in their attainments, energetic in enterprise, and honourable in character ; and even the mission schools in the West Indies exhibit a quickness of intellect and a thirst for learning to which the schools of this country (England) do not always afford a parallel.”

Such facts as the above ought surely to silence those individuals who seem fond of expatiating on the ignorance and immorality of our labouring population.

The Rev. W. B. Boyce, ex-senior Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, who had laboured as missionary in Western Africa for some years, but who has at present connected himself with the Australian Wesleyan Methodist Conference, in a letter dated "London, 16th January 1875," referring to the *negroes* of the West Indies, observes :—

"In my opinion, *no races*—not even the European—have better brains than the *negro* when cultivated; and if we cannot get a ministry of this class, then our work in the West Indies is a failure."

The following opinion of a West Indian Governor on the merits of the negro race will be read with interest throughout the West Indies :—

"VILIFICATION OF THE NEGRO.

"To the Editor.

"Sir,—In the *St. James's Budget* of the 12th of January last, among your notes, is a reference to a letter in the *Daily News* respecting the late fire in Kingston. I have not seen that letter, as I do not take the *Daily News*; but, quoting from it, you state that on the occasion of the fire, 'the only sign of activity the negroes gave was pelting the Governor and his staff.'

"Allow me to say that the statement is one of those described by the philosophers of Laputa as 'things that are not.' I rode through the crowds at that fire in all directions, accompanied only by my private secretary; and I met with nothing but courtesy and consideration, with the exception of some silly political impertinence from one man who was drunk, and who was not a negro.

"I very much doubt that I should have run so little chance of harm of any kind in a crowd at a London fire. And with regard to the alleged unwillingness of the people to work, the correspondent of the *Daily News* was probably unaware of the police regulation, that the constabulary are to protect and assist the fire brigade by restraining the misdirected efforts of unauthorized and unorganized persons and bodies, which only create confusion and interruption. I saw hundreds of the

black population working with quiet and persevering diligence to save the goods and chattels of themselves and others.

"The late Mr. Carlyle had great respect for what he called 'the eternal veracities.' He would have been indignant as well as astonished to find, as I have found after having had thirty years' official experience in different parts of the world, that on no subject anywhere are they more flagrantly violated than in much that relates to 'our black brethren.'

"I sometimes wonder what the negrophobists promise themselves to obtain by persistent vilification of the negro. They cannot dream that the people of Great Britain will now consent to the re-establishment of slavery. Like the Bourbons, they have apparently learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the emancipation; and take no note that the world has now moved past pro-slavery and anti-slavery controversies, and simply requires truth and justice without respect to colour.

"I beg that you will publish this letter.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"A. MUSGRAVE, Governor of Jamaica.

"KING'S HOUSE, JAMAICA, Feb. 8, 1883."

4. The Colony of British Guyana is now in the hands of the descendants of those who were first introduced as slaves from Africa, and it is entirely in their power, and within their reach, to raise themselves to high positions in life, like many now living whose names have become household words. But, writes some one, signing himself "REFORMER," in the *Royal Gazette* of July 14, 1883,—

"All men are possessed of a spirit of ambition, and as things differ in equality, even so do the ambitious propensities of man. On lifting the veil of futurity, and taking a prospective view of the obstacles which impede the progress of the black and coloured population, I see among them one standing very prominent, bidding defiance; and on interrogating its components, echo responded quite stentoriously: PREJUDICE! We often hear the assertion, 'Such a man is not ambitious,' or 'Dame Fate has placed her evil hand upon him,' or 'He is not persevering,' etc., even by our well-to-do citizens. But what suppresses man's ambition (Creoles especially), and throws him in the rear, is the prejudicial actions of those with whom he comes in contact, and whom he has to approach to obtain employment. The services of many young men which would

be of some value, and reflect credit on their race, are left to be thrown away in the idle paths of life simply on account of colour, which seems to be the chief qualification in the Colony of those seeking employment in respectable callings, while intelligence and respectability bear no price or sympathy unless accompanied with a 'fat purse' or connection. We see black and coloured young men often refused situations they are in every capacity capable of filling, without any degradation whatever to the office, and a man who happens to be of brighter hue, and who, intellectually, is no more capable of filling the gap than a donkey to draw one of the tram-cars of the Tramway Company, placed in it with the understanding that he 'will get out.' How long will this continue? No wonder we hear the false accusations, 'Creoles are a lazy lot,' emanating from employers and citizens. Sir, after going from door to door, and being refused employment for which they are well suited, when there is a vacancy, they actually become down-spirited, and begin to think, as the better-positioned man, from the leading officials, in whose power it is to give employment, to the most paltry employer in Water Street, that the black and coloured young men, if not mechanics, are only suited for menial offices, or ought to be in the field. And why? Simply, I suppose, to make room for some of the raw material of Europe, who come here and hold prominent situations quite unsuited to their intellectual capabilities. Again, Creoles are expected when employed to live on a mere pittance, and hence the regulation of their pay. Ought not such a state of things to give rise to idleness? The laziness of the Creoles is brought on by there not being the ghost of a chance left them. Even in the police department we see the Inspector-General's office manned by two white youngsters, of whose qualification I say nothing, especially one, and the remainder police constables — blacks forming the majority. And if either of those constables had applied to the 'Guv'ner' of that department for a situation as clerk, he would have considered it impertinence; but yet as police constables they are made to serve as clerks, and not attend their duty. If they are qualified to be clerks, by *all means* let them be employed on the staff as clerks, and not police constables, or give chance to some whom it would be an indignity to enter the service as police constables. It is time more sphere should be given to poor Creoles; they are daily growing more intelligent, and all can never be suited for carpenters, shoe-

makers, blacksmiths, etc., alone. Let some of us be clerks too; we will form our own class of associates: it is not your company we want, but *your employment*."

5. The Dutch Reformed Church, which is no longer in existence, was the oldest and most important clerical establishment in the Colony. Before the year 1770, Divine service used to be performed in what was then termed the "Church Buildings;" but, on the 24th June of the same year, the last sermon was preached there by the Rev. Mr. Lingins, who took for his text Isaiah ii. 3. On the first of July 1770 the newly-built church was solemnly consecrated, and the preacher chose for his text Ezra vi. 14-17. From 1766 to 1793, parties about to contract marriage were always *undertrowed* (betrothed) by the clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church, except in cases of sickness; an announcement to that effect was made in the church for three successive Sundays, in conformity with the code of marriage regulations of 1656. From 1793 to 1796 there were no regular clergymen in the Colony, and certain fees, to the amount of 200 guilders, were exacted for the ceremony of undertrowing. When the clergy were again established, they petitioned in 1819 against this ceremony being transferred to the civil or lay power, and protested against the regulations then in force on this subject. The very first "Predikant," or "Priester," in connection with the Dutch Reformed Church, who arrived in Berbice was the Rev. Jan Christian Frauendorf, in 1735. In addition to this office, a clerk and schoolmaster was also imported, whose salary was 300 guilders per annum. The minister's salary was fixed at 900 guilders yearly, with an additional sum of 300 guilders to keep his own table without having to board with the Governor. He had also a free house to reside in near Fort Nasau, which was at the distance of a cannon shot from New Amsterdam, the present capital of Berbice. In 1746 there were about twenty scattered houses in this town, with a Lutheran church (once in use by the London missionaries and Wesleyan missionaries) and minister's house. On the other side of the river Berbice a Dutch Reformed church was built at the mouth of the river Waironi, as well as a redoubt or

fort, and another small Lutheran church higher up. In 1769 we read of a Church Council or Vestry (*Kirken-raad*), composed of the Predikant, three elders, and two deacons, as being in existence in Berbice. The Lutheran church had one Predikant, five elders, and one or two deacons. In 1757 a communication, signed by Thibault and Duvelaw, was, at the earnest demand of the inhabitants, sent by the Directors of the Chamber of Zealand to the Director-General of the two rivers and his Council of Government, acquainting them with the Chamber's intention to send out a Predikant or clergyman to the settlers in the river Demerara. The Dutch Reformed Church and Lutheran Church were recognised by the Dutch Government, and the ministrations of the clergy were solely confined to the settlers or colonists. No missions were established or started by them to benefit the aborigines or the African slave population.

6. The English inhabitants of the Colony, up to the year 1810, do not appear to have had a regular place of worship; a service according to the Liturgy of the Established Church was read by the colonial chaplain at the Court House, which was scantily attended by a few white inhabitants, who were not the best educated or well-behaved. By degrees educated clergymen arrived from England, and several churches or places of worship were erected in various parts of the Colony, both at public and private expense. Strictly speaking, the Rev. John Wray was the first minister who preached regularly in the English language in British Guyana, and the Rev. John Davis the second minister who also preached in English; both were sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1808 and 1809. Mr. Davis established a mission in the city, built a chapel, and called it "Providence Chapel," which is now used by the Rev. J. Ketly, M.A., being the pastor. Previous to 1842, Bishop Coleridge, of Barbadoes and Leeward and Windward Islands, exercised jurisdiction over the Colony, but in his day British Guyana was not a separate diocese. Previous to the erection of the cathedral of St. George, the "principal church" in the city stood on what is now the avenue of the old cathedral. It was built in 1842 at a cost of £18,000,

and consecrated the same year by the good bishop Dr. Austin, who is now the oldest bishop living; and the "principal church" was built in 1810 by private subscriptions. The first clergyman who officiated in it was the Rev. Mr. Strachan, a Christ Church man, who was also chaplain to the garrison at Eve Leary. We have now in the Colony various sections of the Christian Church,—the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Moravian, the London Missionary or Congregational, the Brethren, the Wesleyan Methodist, and the Romish. All are engaged in doing good. The Anglican, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan have also missions among the Asiatic immigrants in the Colony. The aborigines are not forgotten by the Christian Church. The late Rev. W. H. Brett, the well-known missionary to the Indians, was a very successful and energetic man; a memoir of this "Apostle" is published by the Rev. F. P. L. Josa, in England. I cannot close this introductory chapter without making some reference to the "Demerara Martyr, Smith." The following account, from the pen of the Rev. John Foreman, London missionary, published in the *Argosy* of August 18, 1883, will be read with great interest:—

"Sixty years to-day have now rolled by, and our minds are vividly carried back to that far distant time of the insurrection of the slaves in this colony. It was on the evening of the 18th August 1823, that the flames, which were then smouldering in all slaveholding countries, burst out for a short while on the east coast of Demerara. The planting body and the Government at once ascribed this to missionary influence. But we need not go far to prove this utterly unfounded. Time and history have proved the contrary. In the history of slave-holding countries we find frequent rebellions—notably in the countries where the gospel has not yet reached. The circumstances in connection with the martyr are heart-rending, painful, and harrowing. That Mr. Smith was cruelly and severely dealt with, is quite evident. But that he was altogether free from suspicion we cannot speak too decidedly.

"John Smith was born at Rothwell, a village in Northamptonshire, on the 27th. of June 1790. The father died when the boy was of tender age, and the mother, being left in straitened circumstances, was unable to send her orphan to school. He attended a Sunday school, where he was taught to read a little.

At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a London tradesman, whose confidence and favour he soon won. Finding that the lad's education was neglected, this gentleman began to teach him, and young Smith made a pretty fair improvement. He seemed to have had a sweet temper and a most genial disposition, which gained the goodwill and respect of all with whom he was connected. Mr. Smith tells us that during this part of his life the charms of the metropolis soon effaced all the good impressions made by the Sunday school; and he followed these charms for a time. His mind gradually underwent a change, and he at last became decided from a sermon preached by the Rev. John Leifchild. He was now converted, and became a most diligent and efficient Sunday school teacher for several years. During this time he read largely, especially missionary and theological works. On the expiration of his apprenticeship, he addressed a letter to the London Missionary Society, expressing a desire to become a missionary. He was delayed for two years, and was afterwards put under the care of the Rev. Mr. Newton, a man distinguished for his piety and learning. Mr. Smith made rapid progress in his studies, and was soon ordained and selected as a suitable person to be sent to British Guyana. He arrived in the Colony on the 27th of February 1817. He tells us that his first interview with Governor Murray was anything but pleasant. His Excellency frowned upon him, and said, 'If you ever teach a negro to read, I will banish you.' On his second interview the Governor promised to protect him, and allowed him to preach.

"A chapel was built years ago by Mr. Port, proprietor of Pln. Le Resouvenir. This kind and blessed planter, who had the seeds of religion early implanted by a pious mother, instructed his slaves himself, and afterwards wrote to the Directors of the London Missionary Society for a minister. The Rev. Mr. Wray was sent. He instructed the slaves at Le Resouvenir and the neighbouring estates for over five years. He was a man of great moral courage, buoyed up by high moral principles. He taught the slaves to read, and even to write, in spite of every opposition. In the year 1813, Mr. Wray settled in Berbice; and, after an interval of four years, Mr. Smith took over Le Resouvenir. He at once began his onerous duties, restored order, and laboured most diligently and faithfully for six years.

"In those days the preaching of the gospel was very much

opposed by the planters. The sight of a missionary was hateful. Many of the planters would have banished or hanged him. They said that these missionaries were interfering with their interests, and that they were bound to protect their interests by opposing the gospel. We should hardly blame a man for protecting his interests; on the contrary, we should rather blame him if he did not. But that the planter was protecting his interests on a wicked, atrocious, and diabolical principle, is patent to the eye of every reasonable man. It was, perhaps, pardonable in the planting body to act as they did. Nor would we censure them. But the effrontery and pertinacity with which some in that body defended slavery was simply an outrage on reason and humanity.

"The cause of the insurrection may be best given in the words of Lord Brougham: 'In this remarkable circumstance, the insurrection in Demerara stands distinguished from every other movement of this description in the history of colonial society. The slaves, influenced by false hopes of freedom, agitated by rumours, and irritated by suspense and ignorance in which they were kept, exasperated by ancient as well as more recent wrongs,—for a sale of fifty-six of them had just been announced, and they were about to be violently separated and dispersed,—were satisfied in combining not to work, and making their managers repair to town, and ascertain the precise nature of the boon reported to have arrived from England.'

"The insurrection broke out on Monday evening; and martial law was at once proclaimed. About two hundred slaves were shot on refusing to lay down their arms. One or two of the whites were killed, and a few slightly injured. Law and order were soon restored. Some of the slaves betook themselves to the bush, and they were shot down by scores, gibbeted and hanged by dozens; and besides these, many were daily sentenced to death, and others were sentenced to receive as many as a thousand lashes, and not a few succumbed under the lash. Such were the rigour and the vengeance of the authorities.

"Mr. Smith and his wife were arrested on Thursday the 21st August. They were forcibly hurried into town, without even the chance of locking their house or taking a change of apparel. They were confined in a small room in the Colony House. The primary cause of the arrest was that Mr. Smith claimed legal exemption for not enrolling in the militia. The

authorities had already made up in their minds how to act with this poor defenceless missionary. This good and pious man was truly sentenced to be hanged, tried, and then charged. The charges against the missionary were four—the summary of which is, that he had purposely misinformed the slaves about their freedom in order to stir up rebellion. Of that wicked and fiendish court-martial by which he was ostensibly tried—of its members, all burning with rage, hatred, and deep vengeance against this innocent and solitary man—of their not granting him a legal adviser till late in the trial—of the false evidence made out against him—of his manly and simple defence, we will pass over. He was found guilty—recommended to mercy—and sentenced ‘to be hung by the neck till dead.’ During this protracted trial of nearly two months, the poor man was visibly dying; and after his sentence he was removed to the jail, to be there hastened to a yet more untimely end by the effluvia arising from the stagnant waters under the floor. And thus ended the precious life of the Demerara Martyr. Of the kind and affectionate care of his wife during those trying times—of the warm friendship of the bold and fearless Rev. Mr. Austin, Mr. Arrindell, afterwards Chief-Justice, and the intrepid Mrs. Elliot, space fails us to mention.

“Nor did this deep vengeance and bitter hatred end at his death. They went further—even to his grave. He was ordered to be buried at about three o’clock in the morning, and even his wife was not allowed to follow his remains to the grave. A few days after his burial, his grave was railed round and bricked over. But so intense was the hatred of the authorities against this missionary, that they ordered the works to be taken away and the grave made level with the ground, so as to leave the spot unmarked to this day.”

7. The London Missionary students at home, on hearing of the martyrdom of this great, good, and truly noble man, were afraid to offer themselves as missionaries to labour in the Colony. For some two years Mr. J. Davis’s place was not filled. The late Rev. Joseph Ketly (father of J. Ketly, the present pastor of New Providence Chapel), who was preparing for missionary work in China, volunteered to come to the Colony and labour for God. In 1828 he began his ministry in the Colony, in the days of slavery. He fought bravely and well in those days, and after forty years’ hard but successful toil he passed

away like a shock of corn fully ripe, and entered into his rest. Though John Wray was the first Protestant missionary who landed in British Guyana, and preached regularly in English to the people, yet the fact must be told that three years before his arrival in the Colony the Rev. John Hawkshaw was sent out by the Wesleyan Conference ; but on his landing was ordered at once by the then Governor to leave the Colony : he, however, conducted religious services among the Methodist members in the city of Georgetown, then called Stabrook, during his short stay, and then left by the mail boat. Since better days of peace and quietness had dawned upon Guyana, missionaries from both the London Missionary and Wesleyan Societies were regularly sent to labour among the masses ; and they laboured hard, well, and successfully too, and after a time they returned home to enjoy their well-earned rest. The predecessors of our modern missionaries had to experience persecution, much opposition, insult, and a host of other evils in connection with their holy calling and work in which they were engaged among the enslaved or but newly-emancipated negroes, and knew and realized to the fullest extent what self-denial and self-sacrifice meant when they left their home and friends behind. Men *now* coming out to British Guyana or to any of the West Indian islands as missionaries have no such sacrifices to make in leaving their home and friends. They have no persecution to endure, no insult to meet : all these dark days, are past and gone. When they *now* come to Demerara or to the West Indies they find they have comfortable residences provided for them, and every want supplied, and every care taken of them by the people who are members of the churches of which they become pastors. They everywhere find and meet with men and women of intelligence, respectability, and means ; many of whom, in social position and circumstances, are much higher than the general run of men who come out as ministers to labour among the people. There are men and women with enlarged views and well informed minds connected with the various Protestant churches in the Colony, who laugh at these gentlemen when, unblushingly, on missionary platforms and in pulpits, they talk

° about the great sacrifices they make in leaving England to come to preach the gospel to the natives, who are intelligent and respectable, who, if not their superiors in position, are in no way inferior to them. Clerks, overseers, etc., who come to the Colony in search of situations as planters, merchants, etc., do not volunteer such statements as some of the missionaries are disposed to do. Men going out to the wild and uncivilised regions of Africa may well and justly speak of the sacrifices they make, but not the men who come out to the West Indies. The modern statements about sacrifices—self-sacrifices—on the part of the hasty speakers might have been tolerated and believed fifty years ago, but no man with any grain of common-sense in him in the Colony will believe a statement or assertion of this kind in these more enlightened and brighter days. The people in the West Indies, as a rule, are glad to see ministers from England come to labour among them, and also to receive them as messengers of truth, and welcome them, but they will not allow or tolerate exaggerated statements without challenging them.

CHAPTER I.

THE EAST INDIAN POPULATION CLASSIFIED.

1. THE report for 1886 of the Hon. A. H. Alexander, Immigration Agent-General, published in the *Daily Chronicle* of June 25, 1887, shows that in British Guyana we have a total Immigrant population of 100,281, indentured, unindentured, and children of men and women who have come to the Colony from our Indian Empire. They, in addition to the Chinese and Portuguese coolies, form our constant and inseparable fellow-subjects or companions, although widely scattered on the different sugar estates in the Colony: where we dwell, they dwell; where we die and are buried, there they die and are buried; and, more than all, our God is their God, and our Saviour is their Saviour. We cannot do without them. They may be classified as follows:—

(a) MUHAMMEDANS speaking the Hindustani, which includes two languages—Urdu and Hindi, the languages of Muhammedans and Hindus respectively—which overlap one another a little, but are almost as distinct as English and French. Urdu is written with the Persian or Arabic character from right to left, and its words are derived from Persian and Arabic with a little admixture of Hindi; while Hindi is written with Sanskrit character, from left to right, and is largely derived from Sanskrit. Though Al-Kuran is universally received among the Muhammedans (otherwise called Mussulmans), the *Sunnah*, or tradition, divides them into two—orthodox and heterodox—sects, amongst whom constant misunderstandings and heartburnings exist, and hence they are termed the “irreconcilable” sects: the *Sonnites* and the *Adaliyah*, or followers of justice, better known by the name of *Shiyahs* (separatists). The Sonnites form the larger number among

the admirers and followers of Muhammed, "the Prophet of the illiterate" of the wilds of Arabia. Divided as the Muhammedans are in the Colony, they have erected one or two handsome *musjids*, or *mosques*, in which they carry on their religious services. They have their *Imam*, who reads the prayers; the *Khuteeb*, who preaches the sermon or delivers an oration; and the *Muezzim*, who calls to prayer the "faithful" followers of the Prophet. The religion is called *Islam*, from an Arabic root signifying "peace;" but the Muhammedan writers prefer to render the term *Islam* "resignation," professing that submission to God's will is the beginning and end of all true religion.

(b) HINDUS or PAGANS, speaking the following principal languages, Bengali, Hindi-Kaithi, Tamil, Uriya, Gujrathi, Punjabi, and others, and divided into two principal sects, the Vaishnavas (followers of Vishnu or Krishna) and Shaivas (followers of Shiva), each strenuously contending for the supremacy of the chief object of their worship, and the consequent inferiority of the other.

(c) HINDO-GUYANIANS, children born in the Colony, but whose parents came from India. There is a large number of them in the city of Georgetown and throughout the Colony, and their number is annually increasing. These look upon British Guyana as their birthplace and home, and have no desire whatever to go to India with their parents. They form a very interesting class of people in our midst, demanding the attention of the several Protestant missionaries. They do not care for the religion and languages of their parents, though trained in them. In hundreds of instances they feel ashamed of their parents on account of their heathenish abominations and superstitions. They are very tractable, and only require kind attentions shown, and encouragements held out, by our English-speaking missionaries. [They do not like the term "Coolie," or "Sammie" (Swamie), applied to them, as they do not claim India for their native or birth place.] They all speak English well, and are great readers of our daily and weekly journals, and can be reached by the missionary, and through them reach the parents also.

2. This large number (100,281) of our East Indian population—divided and separated from each other or class by a variety of languages and by caste feelings—are our fellow-subjects, all yielding allegiance to our beloved Sovereign of Great Britain and British India. The variety of languages spoken by our East Indian population makes the work of a Christian missionary very difficult. In India, for instance, the missionary has to learn only one language of the district or people where or among whom he has to labour. For Lucknow and Benares, the missionary has to learn Hindustani; for Calcutta, Bengali; for Madras or South India district, Tamil, etc.; whereas the case is different in British Guyana. The proprietors or managers of sugar estates purposely choose men speaking three or four separate and distinct languages not understood by each other, in order to prevent combination in cases of disturbances among them, and thus endanger the lives of the overseers—a wise arrangement, no doubt, but one which adds to the missionary's difficulties. The missionary must be a wonderfully clever man to be able to understand all the languages and dialects of the different Hindu tribes, to be able to preach or speak to them in their several caste languages. Unfortunately we do not possess this gift of tongues, it having ceased long ago with the apostles. Very rarely a missionary may now be found who could speak intelligently more than one or two languages. Nothing is so easy as to obtain a smattering of two or three languages, and to gratify the vanity of the mind with the name of being a great linguist. But I have no sympathy with such childish pretensions. In attempting to gain too much, the missionary student gains comparatively little. Far better that the missionary should give his whole time to *one* language of the people among whom he labours, and so master it, that he might use it as his own, apply it to all practical purposes, and that he may be rendered a blessing to the people who understand it, than to have a superficial knowledge of *many*, and not be able to use any of them with efficiency or profit to the edification of the people among whom he labours. In this Colony, however, there is a great desire on the part of the Immigrants to get if possible an acquaintance

• with the English language, being the language of the country and people where and among whom they have come to dwell. They feel daily that a knowledge of the English language, however imperfect it might be, is necessary for them. The great majority of the Immigrants have an idea (whether correct or not it is not for me to say) that, because of their ignorance of the language of the country, undue advantage is taken of them by various persons. Hence their great desire to learn the language. Whenever an open-air service is held in English, a large number of them may be found standing with the rest of the crowd to listen to the speaker, and to catch English words, so that they might become useful to them.

3. Professor Grimm ascribes to the English language "a veritable power of expression, such as perhaps never stood at the command of any other language of men. It may, with all right, be called a *world language*, and, like the English people, appears to be destined hereafter to prevail, with a sway more extensive even than at present, over all portions of the globe." "It is also well fitted to become the medium of translation for the literature of the old as of the new world, of the East and of the West. *It easily naturalizes* the thoughts of men of every climate and of every age, and extends its sympathy as deep as humanity itself." It has been well observed that "already we see it" (the English language) "in a fair way to become the universal language. It is spoken all over the globe, not only by Englishmen, but by natives of other countries; and a very remarkable decree has lately ordered its adoption *in Japan* as the language of business throughout the country." The Rev. James Cooling, Wesleyan missionary from the Madras Presidency, speaking at "the Missionary Breakfast Meeting," held in the lower hall, Exeter Hall, on Saturday morning, April 30, 1887, on the influence and prevalence of the English language in India among the masses of the people, observed:—

"Some weeks ago, when celebrating her Majesty's Jubilee in India, we did not forget that the reign of Queen Victoria exactly synchronizes with one of the most marvellous movements the world has ever seen. It is exactly fifty years since Lord Macaulay, then in India, penned a Minute, the outcome

of which has been one of the most marvellous movements that has ever come over any people. The controversy was, Should the highest form of education which the Government ought to give to the natives of that country be one in the Oriental classical languages of Persian and Sanskrit, or should it be in English? Macaulay's Minute settled it in favour of English. Though that Minute is the spring up to which this mighty movement in favour of English education can be traced, yet beyond the establishment by Government of a High School in each of the Presidency towns, and the starting of a very few Mission schools,—of which, however, our Royapettah Institution in Madras was one,—little was done until 1854, when Sir Charles Wood (afterwards the late Lord Halifax) sent out his celebrated despatch, which has been often described as "The Magna Charta of Indian Education." That despatch laid down the principle that, as the work of education was too great to be accomplished by Government alone, or bodies such as committees of native gentlemen, missionary or philanthropic societies should be encouraged, by grants of money in aid of their schools, to co-operate with Government in this work. That despatch also directed that universities, after the model of the London University, should be established in the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. This was carried out in 1857,—thirty years ago,—and since then the development has been extremely rapid. There are now in the Madras Presidency alone hundreds of thousands of youths learning English. Not only is the whole of the university course given through English, but in every High and Middle School English literature is a subject of study, and the English language is the medium through which instruction in other subjects is given. In a large number of primary schools the English language is a part of the curriculum. There is scarcely a young man making any pretensions whatever of being educated, who would not be ashamed if he could not converse with you in English. It must, however, not be supposed that this English education is given free of cost. Our school and college fees, and our university fees, are prescribed by Government, and, compared with the resources of the people, are much higher in amount than those in England. You would be surprised at the sacrifices many of the boys and their relatives make in order to get an English education. They will deny themselves food and clothing, sell or pawn their family jewels, and go into debt for years to come. I have

known many instances of Brahman boys getting their food from the houses of seven native gentlemen a week, going to one house each day, and begging the money for their fees and books. Of course it must be remembered that it is a work of merit for a Hindu to give alms to a Brahman; and that a Brahman is so accustomed to receive, that he has no more scruples about begging than you or I have about buying. Here we are face to face with a movement which appears to me unparalleled in the history of the world. The tide has set in. It is advancing rapidly, and, whether we like it or not, it will continue to advance, for young India will learn English."

A similar feeling exists in this Colony on the part of a large majority of our East Indian Immigrants, and, apart from the work done by the missionaries who are especially engaged among them, knowing their languages, the English-speaking minister should take advantage of the desire on the part of the heathen Immigrants, and preach to them in English in the open air, so as to give them an opportunity to gain an acquaintance with the language, and gradually win them for Christ.

CHAPTER II.

THE EAST INDIAN IMMIGRANTS OUR FELLOW-COLONISTS AND AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

1. IN an article entitled "The Coolie," reprinted in the *Argosy* of March 12, 1887, the Rev. J. G. Pearson speaks of the East Indian Immigrants as the "alien peasantry" of the Colony. But such is not the case. From one part of the British dominion they have been transferred to another, that they might become useful to that country or Colony, and thus benefit its peoples and proprietors of sugar estates by their systematic and constant labour. In the face of much opposition and obloquy, the Government and planters of the Colony made great and creditable efforts, and at last succeeded in obtaining labourers from India to supply the deficiency of labour arising principally from the indolence of our rural labouring Creole population. There is no denying the fact that there exists an uncalled-for, bitter feeling between the native Creole and the Indian Immigrant towards each other. The native looks upon the heathen Indian as an intruder or interloper, whilst the Indian looks down upon the native black as a being inferior to him in a social aspect. Very often in the Colony disturbances of a serious nature take place between the Asiatics and the descendants of the old slaves, which end in a free fight; and I suppose this feeling of hatred and dislike for each other will last so long as Immigration from India continues. In a religious point this feeling is very glaring, as the following instance, from the *Argosy*, will show:—

"CHRISTIAN SISTERS.

"*First Sister.* Have you heard of the accident? six persons in the 'bateau, and all drowned.

“*Second Sister.* O dear, how sad! and so quick! but perhaps they have found a home in heaven at last with the Master.

“*First Sister.* Yes, perhaps so; six of them, and all coolies.

“*Second Sister.* Coolies! Only coolies! Tchups! I thought you were speaking of people!”

If we take up the missionary subscription lists published in the Colony, and look over the names of regular subscribers or contributors, we shall find the apathy and unwillingness manifested by our rural labouring Creole Christians when appealed to for their help and sympathy in the mission work done among the East Indian population. “We can’t give, and we won’t give anything for such a purpose. We have our own to look after. We never brought these people, and we don’t want them. If the Missions among such people are to be supported and carried on, let the Government and the planters do that, for it is for their special benefit that these coolies are brought here from India.” This is the exhibition and extent of their Christian love and charity for their heathen neighbours. Though the Indians may be looked upon, and even described, by those who should know better, as the “alien peasantry” of the Colony, yet there is no denying the fact that they, and they especially, are *the* agricultural people on whose steady labour we have to depend.

2. When I say that our East Indian Immigrants are our agricultural people, I do not mean that all who migrate to Demerara and other West Indian islands were so in their country before they left it. A large number who have come to Demerara have never been agricultural labourers at all. It is only after the overseers and drivers on the different estates have properly drilled them into that art, that they could be called agricultural labourers. The indentured Indian coolie *must* work, and *does* work, on a sugar estate; but it must not be supposed that he does so readily and cheerfully. When he works it is from necessity, not choice—to satisfy a demand, not to gratify an inclination. In place of the motto, “Labour is itself pleasant,” he would substitute this, “*Work* when you *must*, be *idle* when you *can*: eat, drink, and be merry.” This

is the motto or creed, also, of the black Creole labourer. He is not a slave or an indentured labourer, like the Indian coolie, to be compelled to work. Time is his own, and he can spend it as he pleases. When he makes up his mind to work, he, as a rule, sticks out for a high rate of wages, which the planters can't give.

"The nature of the Creole labourer was strikingly exhibited one day lately, when a young planter, son of an absent proprietor, was asked by the spokesman of a gang to give them a higher rate for the work they were on. 'How de, nyung massa?' was the first salutation. 'I hope you is well, and you fadder, uncle, dem, dey is all well? Tank God. Look, my nyung massa.' And then followed an appeal as to an increase of rate per rood, which the nyung massa would not entertain. The tone of the petitioners then underwent a change. 'Wutless pickney; that mannish fellow. Ain't no use here; fadder should make he 'tan home in Hengland.' The 'wutless pickney' heard all. Estates adjacent to large villages, the major part of the population of which is generally unemployed, can usually command a supply of labour, such as it is,—intermittent and for the most part unreliable,—if they can afford to pay the extravagantly high prices too frequently demanded. But such exceptions are few. The majority of the estates are still mainly dependent upon their Immigrant labourers, indentured and unindentured, for the tillage of their land and the ingathering of their crops. And there is every probability that that state of dependence will continue for an indefinite period yet to come. For, although it is now more than half-a-century since slavery was abolished, and it might have been supposed that any association even in idea between prædial labour and the 'peculiar institution'—always unreal and now ridiculous—would have long since died away and been forgotten, there is undoubtedly a growing disinclination on the part of the Creole population, especially the rising generation, to engage in field work, or to settle down steadily to any kind of mechanical occupation. Even the 'trades,' as ordinary handicrafts are termed, are unpopular; and the repugnance of parents to apprentice their sons for a sufficient term to enable them thoroughly to master any particular branch, is having the natural effect of deteriorating the quality of our native mechanics and artisans, and placing them at a disadvantage in competition with Barbadians and Immigrants from the other West Indian islands. Many are disposed to attribute this to

the superficial and in some respects frivolous character of the education heretofore imparted in our primary schools. And there is probably a *souçon* of truth in the idea ; for it is certain that a Creole youth with a smattering of scholastic lore, the thinnest veneer of so-called 'learning,' but destitute of a practical acquaintance with arithmetic, mensuration, and trigonometry requisite for a competent mechanic, regards even skilled manual labour with contempt, considers it beneath him, and aims at something more 'genteel.' He wants to be a clerk, a teacher, a minister (save the mark !), a shopkeeper, an 'agent' or hedge lawyer, a pedlar, or a 'professor,' of no matter what—anything but an honest workman, the noblest occupation in the calendar, if he but rightly understood it. Of course the evil will cure itself. Already all the 'genteel' branches of labour are overcrowded, especially those of clerks and assistants in stores, and the pay is wretched. How the hundreds of young fellows employed in the minor stores in Water Street and other parts of the town contrive to subsist on the miserable pittance they receive, is one of those mysteries which only an occasional *exposé* in the Police Court serves to elucidate. When industrial and technical schools—in which the true dignity of labour will be practically inculcated, where the youth of the Colony will learn to take pride in their work, and to love labour for the pleasure it affords—are established, a better order of things may be expected to arise. But that will be a work of time ; and while the grass grows the horse starves. Our planters urgently require labour, and in the absence of the native article are fain to look abroad. For many years past India has been their main reliance ; but the supply thence has never been equal to the demand, and is now more inadequate than ever. The estates now in operation, supported as most of them are by unlimited capital, would readily absorb at least ten thousand Immigrants per annum ; but not half that number are procurable from British India." ¹

However, the coolies are *now* our growers of sugar, and as a whole they do make very useful labourers. The only pity is, when their term of service on a sugar estate and residence in the Colony is completed, they look to return to India, perhaps never to come back, but to go to some other part of the world, with acquired experience in planting business and pleasing recollections of their sojourn in British Guyana. Every year

¹ *Argosy*, August 1883.

a flourish of trumpets takes place as to the large amounts in money and the value of their ornaments which the coolies returning to India carry out of the Colony ; but the pride of the planters and Government ought to be in the number they induce to remain in the country. No step should be left untried to secure the confidence of the Immigrant. Even if the Immigrant did not take to the sugar estates, yet he would be a great gain to the Colony, not only as a farmer of cattle, of rice, and of other articles of food, but also in imparting to the negro villagers many of the elements of an ancient civilisation. He would teach him industry and frugality, and love and care for his offspring, and kindness to his ox and his ass, virtues in which the best friend of the negro must admit he is sadly deficient. So far as work is concerned, the Creole black is far superior in strength of body to the coolie. One good black labourer will do as much work in one day as half-a-dozen coolies put together, and do it satisfactorily. It is the question of wages that keeps the Creole labourer from the cane field. At times I have sincerely wished that Immigration from India could altogether be stopped, so as to enable the native Creole to enter the labour field without any opposition. I am no advocate of a perpetuation of the present Immigration system. I think the time has come when the planters especially, and others interested in Immigration matters and the welfare of the Colony as a whole, ought to take immediate steps to stop further importation of coolies from India. The reindenture system, as in former years, should be favourably considered by the Government and planting body, and every inducement held out to free and non-indentured Indian labourers or coolies, and their children born in the Colony, to remain altogether in British Guyana, which indeed is the home of the thousands of children of Asiatic parents. Immigration, it is true, has to a very large extent been the salvation of the Colony, and now, it having done its work, it is high time that it should come to a permanent end, so that the free Indian coolies and their children the Hindo-Guyanians, and the native black Creole coolies or labourers, may vie with each other in the labour market, and prove a blessing to the Colony.

3. There has been a change for good in a social, moral, and religious sense in the condition of the people of India for some considerable period, and more especially during the past half-century of our beloved Sovereign's reign. The 240 millions constituting the population of India—of all creeds, sects, and castes—had been watching and waiting with patience for better times, and now they are realizing this. The European—British—influence, science and learning, inventions and customs, introduced there have so opened the eyes of the people as to make them wiser than they were before in regard to their condition; and the spread of Christianity among them by the different Protestant missionaries in close connection with the above, is fast breaking down the caste feeling prevailing among the different tribes of Hindus, and delivering them from baleful superstitions. The entrance of God's Word giveth light unto them; it giveth understanding unto those who are simple. Their moral and religious elevation is secured to them by these means. Nothing is more antagonistic to Christianity than caste, the masterpiece of Satan, which, with its endless ramifications, isolates men from their fellow-men, elevating some into fancied superiority, and depressing others unduly into a state of hopeless degradation. From this tyranny of caste and priestly power of the Brahmans, the people are being gradually delivered by the promulgation of the truth as it is in Jesus. Darkness recedes before light. Fortunately, caste to the same extent or degree is not observed here as it is in India, and the people have already mixed without any distinction, and are eating and drinking together, and are also intermarrying, the high caste Hindu with the lowest. In some rare instances Hindus of good caste have even married black and coloured females, and are living happily together.

4. The Empire of India, divided into SHAMA DES and JYAPETI DES, was originally the home of the Draudya or Taranya race, who, by the succeeding Sanskrit-speaking Aryans or Brahmans, were afterwards driven more towards the south of India from Aryavratra or Bharata-Varsha. The two principal families of any importance or significance mentioned in all Hindu standard works were the Surya and Chandra, or the Draudya and Arya.

races. [This subject having to some length been already discussed in my *Colony of British Guyana, and Ancestry of East Indian Immigrants*, I shall not trouble the reader with a repetition of it.] The terms "Dra-aryan," "Turaryan," "Turanian," or "Tararyan," and "Aryan," used by scholars, are mere conventional terms so far as applied to the descendants of Shem and Japheth, who occupied the whole of India from pre-historic times. At the present day the term "Aryan" includes the Brahmanical or Japhetic races of India, and the term "Tar" or "Dra-aryan" (Draudyan) includes all Scythio-Shemitic races of the country, who have ever been opposed to Brahmanical usurpation and tyranny of caste. Mr. Vaughan in his valuable work, *The Trident, the Crescent, and the Cross*, remarks that "the term Aryan, though it comes to bear the sense of 'noble,' seems to be derived from a root indicating to plough. Agricultural pursuits, along with pastoral, appear to have been the leading feature in the life of the early Aryans ;"—and indeed all the first or primitive settlers in India were both agricultural and pastoral in their pursuits, without any exception. The very name Arya in this sense is still retained among the Draudyans of Southern India in a poem by Kamban, entitled *Erezhubadu, the seventy stanzas in praise of the plough*. In process of time, however, the Sanskrit-speaking Immigrants who found their way into India abandoned their agricultural and pastoral pursuits as being quite unsuitable to their purpose and calling, and transferred the same to the "inferior races," as these proud conquerors were pleased to style the "aboriginal primitive tribes" and the Draudya or Scythic people who had occupied the country as their immediate predecessors. These latter—Sanskrit Immigrants—assumed the position and status of priests, of nobles, of warriors among the original settlers. It is after this change had been made, in the very early period of Indian history and its government, by which caste (a thing *unknown* among the original occupiers of the country) and Brahmanism or Hinduism with its polytheistic doctrines were introduced and enforced upon the quiet, peaceful Draudya inhabitants, thus Hinduising them, that the term *Aryan*—as meaning noble—became exclusively applied to them, and the

terms An-Aryan, Tar [or Dur]aryan, Draudyen, to all the rest who had shown any opposition to them in their endeavours to subjugate them. The people thus came to be divided into distinct castes. Professor Monier Williams is of opinion that "the hill-tribes and others (such as were symbolized by the monkey armies of Hanuman)—the Gonds of Central India, the Bhils of the hills to the west of the Gonds, the Khonds or Kus of the eastern districts of Gondwana and the ranges south of Orissa, the Santhals and Kols of the hills to the west of Bengal, the Khanas and Garos of the eastern border—are the present representatives of numerous wild Tartar tribes who swarmed into India at various epochs, some of them probably coming from Chinese Tartary and Thibet, and taking the course of the Brahmaputra into Bengal. These speak an infinite number of dialects, and are almost mutually unintelligible." But what is most striking and remarkable about these tribes is, like the Jews, in whatever country they may be found, or whatever people they may dwell among, they still dwell alone and keep themselves apart and distinct from others. Conflicting statements and testimonies have been made and given regarding particular portions of these aboriginal tribes or occupants of India; but, writes a missionary who had laboured for many years among them, "One lamentable vice—drunkenness—is, however, we fear, almost universal among them. This may probably be attributable to their Scythian origin; mention of Scythian drunkenness is constantly made in classical authors." In the women, however, drunkenness would be deemed disgraceful. The same reproach attaches to the Santhals. The hill tribes in Northern and Southern India, who are of a darker hue, and of a less civilised and less sophisticated type, correspond to the Celts in England,—the Tararyans or Draudyans (the Tamilians) to the Saxons, the Brahmans to the Normans. Very similar processes have gone on in both countries. On several of the sugar estates in the Colony I have met with people of this description, called "*Paharees*"—hill tribes of India.

5. The great and most fertile TAMILIAN or Draudya race of Scythio-Shemitic origin (like the tribes just described), whose

language is the parent of Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalan, and some others spoken in Southern India, were the immediate precursors of the Sanskrit-speaking Brahmans or Aryans. Both had their origin in the same districts of Central Asia, whence they immigrated by the same mountain passes into the Punjab and Northern India. They are both distinct alike in character and language, and originally were distinct also in religion, though long ages have smoothed out many of the differences. For the most part the Draudyans were driven southwards, attaining a considerable independent civilisation, speaking distinct languages, different in structure from Sanskrit, and possessing an extensive and important literature of their own. A considerable number of these Tamilians also passed over the straits into the island of Ceylon, or Lanka, and settled there, and with them they carried their literature and civilisation. These migrators in course of years became the agricultural and mercantile people of the island, and gained sufficient wealth and influence to be looked upon as, or become, respectable; and hence in the present day these Vaisyas, as they are called in the island, are ranked among the aristocracy, the noblest class of the people, next to those who hold rank as hereditary princes, free from any Brahmanical intrusion or tyranny. It is only a few centuries since the Brahmans established their priestly tyranny among them in Southern India. When agricultural and pastoral pursuits had been abandoned by the Sanskrit Aryans, and changed the original meaning of the term Aryan—a ploughman—into that of a nobleman, priest, warrior, the Draudyans retained it in his vocabulary as equivalent to an agriculturist or ploughman, and gloried in that term and in the occupation indicated by that term. The Tamil nation may be considered as chiefly agricultural,—in primitive times, perhaps, wholly so,—for though various manufactures existed in the provinces to which the dominion of the ancient Tamil—Pandyan, Soren, and Seran—princes extended, the several caste or tradesmen by which these were conducted were, by the ancient institutions of the country, in absolute subjection to the cultivating tribes,—the Kaniyachchi Karar, or lords of the soil, who, however, derived their superiority not from fictitious incidents,

but from *Uzkavadei*, the rights of the plough. The late Father Beschi of the Romish Church, who went by the name of *Virama muni*, in a work which he published, entitled *Têmbavani*, gives the following description of Southern India :— 17733

“ Here pour the waters from the clouds of heaven,
 ° Diffusing wealth and virtue through the land,
 Whose wide dominion, like the ambient sky,
 Spreads its protecting influence o’er the earth.
 To fragrant fields, where creeps the pregnant conch,
 From flowery lakes the full stream flows ; the while
 The peafowl dances ’neath the verdant shade
 Of sweetly-scented groves. The ripened rice¹
 O’ertops the cane ; and flowery-fingered girls,
 With liberal hand to all the poor, who swarm
 Like bees around, distribute many a sheaf ;
 And while their hair, by odorous wreaths adorned,
 Floats loosely in the breeze, join in the dance
 At a marriage feast, their nimble feet
 Accordant to their sounding hands. And here
 The luscious juice flows from the cane compressed ;
 Unnumbered flowerets scent the ambient air ;
 Unnumbered trees their racy fruits afford—
 The various produce of the plenteous fields,
 And boundless wealth that satiates the mind,
 Thus yieldeth Indal,² that delightful land ! ”

This translated extract will convey to the reader the real agricultural tendencies and pursuits of the thousands of Hindus in Southern India.

The veneration in which the Tamil people formerly held the plough was unbounded. The numerous remains of ancient art existing in all parts of the country consist, almost exclusively, in buildings intended for religious and charitable purposes, and those reservoirs, channels, and embankments which, by restraining and distributing the waters of the periodical rains, render the soil fit for the labours of the husbandman. Many of these are stupendous works, and must have been erected when a great portion of the wealth of the country was systematically applied to the agricultural improvement of it ; when, in fact, the cultivators of the soil were, as tradition

¹ Paddy.

² India.

states them to have been, the nobles of the land, and their occupation alike the source of wealth and honour. Kamban (to whom I have already made reference), the translator of the *Ramayana*, which he undertook under the patronage of the wealthy farmer Vennai-Nellur-Sadeiyan, whom he has celebrated in it, has left a poem, entitled *Erezhubadu, the seventy stanzas in praise of the plough*, from which I give one or two extracts for the information of the reader :—

“ . . . The laws of Manu, cherished by the lords the four Vedas ; the felicity of victorious princes, who protect the world by their arms ; these are matured by the plough handle of the cultivators of the earth, whose word will never change, even though fate should change.”

“When, in the productive fields of the Velhlhallar, who ever escape the furious rage of famine, the bundles (*mudi*) of green plants are arranged in perfect beauty ; perfect, also, are the crowns (*mudi*) of the princes of the earth ; and the rod (*kol*) which supports the sceptre (*shen-kol*) swayed by the battle-king, attended by intoxicated elephants, furious as the swelling waves of the ocean, is the small rod (*sirukol*) by which the plough is driven.”

“The yoke attached to the chariot of the glorified sun of beauteous beams dispelleth darkness from the world surrounded by the sea and supported by mountains ; is it not, also, the plough-yoke of the husbandman which preserveth the inhabitants of the broad and fragrant earth from falling into poverty ?”

Tiru-Valhlhuvar, in his *Kuralh* (a work of great literary merit and authority, in which all candidates in Southern India for the civil and missionary service have to pass an examination), devotes a whole chapter in praise of the plough or agriculture. In the third verse of the 104th chapter the author says : “Those truly live by the plough : all others do not live, as they are in servitude and depend upon those they serve.” In this sense all our East Indian Immigrants are now emphatically our agricultural labourers, on whose steady labour all in the Colony depend for their living. And all these Immigrants—keeping the double meaning attached to the word *Arya*, or (as sometimes written with an *h*) *Harya*, a *ploughman*, a *worshipper*,

a devotee—who are thus employed in the Colony may truthfully realize what is conveyed in the following Hindi couplet,—

“*Haryā, har se hētkar jēon Kisān Ki rīt ;*
Dām ghanērā, rin ghanā tabhūn Khēt sē prīt.”

The two first words in italics signify “Ploughman and Plough,” as well as “Worshipper and God ;” which give the poet the opportunity of conveying the moral, that no vicissitudes of fortune should affect a man’s love for labour or devotion.

6. The poor Indian coolies, free and indentured, in the Colony have by some been charged with dishonesty and unrelia-
 bleness. It is not for me to say that they are so or not. In my frequent and constant intercourse with them I have ever treated them as men and women in whose words I had implicit confidence, and whom I looked upon as honest men and women. In this respect I have never been disappointed. Some in the Colony say that the coolie drivers, or sirdars, or mēstries, are men given to receiving bribes from the labourers, promising to give them constant or standing work, and be their friends whilst they keep paying them weekly a certain sum out of their weekly wages. I do not deny this statement. But what about the red, white, and black overseers and task-gang drivers in the employ of other departments in the Colony? These unworthy officials, who understand the art of “fencing” and “skinning,” are as corrupt as the sirdars on a sugar estate. Though they are in receipt of decent salaries, they take undue and unjust advantage of the poor free coolies working under their superintendence, and extract large sums of money out of their weekly earnings quite unknown to the other higher officials over them. The poor coolies are not the only class who cheat and rob their countrymen ; but gentlemen of higher standing and respectability do the same in a systematic manner. The overseers and drivers are, as a rule, close friends, and they know how to play the game without detection.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANCESTRAL HOME OF THE HINDO-GUYANIANS.

1. WELL may the Hindo-Guyanians be proud of the Colony in which they have been born and bred. It is indeed a "magnificent province"—the "paradise of the labouring man," the most prominent of all the West Indian Colonies, the El Dorado, or *The Gilded*, of Sir Walter Raleigh, and a SECOND HINDUSTAN or (in some instances a temporary, and in others a permanent) HOME of our East Indian Immigrant population. It is emphatically the home of those born here, though by closest ties allied to India, the first home and birth-place of their parents. The children born and brought up in the Colony need not be ashamed of their ancestral home. There are thousands here who have only some glimmering ideas of Hindustan. Not only is this the case with Hindo-Guyanians, but with others, also, who lay no claim whatsoever to an Asiatic origin. For their information, therefore, I here give a short account of India, which will be interesting. Being my own native home, I have always taken the liveliest interest in everything connected with, and affecting, India and its peoples.

2. The early history of India (one of the earliest inhabited portions of our earth), like that of all other countries, is involved in the deepest obscurity. The huge volumes of the Vedas, Shastras, Puranas, and *Ramayanas*—the standard writings of the Hindus as a nation—are so filled with exaggerated, impossible, improbable, monstrous, and unreliable romances and fictions, written by (unprincipled and) cunning or designing men, with a view to raise themselves in importance at the expense of truth and justice, by depreciating those inimical to them, that not much reliance can be placed in what

these writings contain or say. | The SELFHOOD of the Arya invaders as a thing of great importance is evident in these writings. From the great and confused mass of conflicting and contradictory, and hence unreliable, materials thrown together in the Puranas and other works, we gather that in very early times, between B.C. 3000 and 4000, or even earlier perhaps than this period, India was divided into *dās rājya*—ten kingdoms,—speaking different languages, the Draudya or Tamil and Sanskrit being the original sources or parents of all East Indian languages,—five of which kingdoms occupied the Southern, called SHAMA-DES, and five the Northern district, called JYAPETI-DES. That two principal families, distinguished in their day (prehistoric times) for valour or power and splendour, occupied the whole territory: the *pre-Aryan* or *Tarānyan* or *Suryan*, the Solar race (the *Draudyans*); the Grandāic-Tamil speaking Aryans and the *Aryans* proper or *Sanskritists*, the *Chandra* (*Iranian*) or Moon race.¹ These Scythio-Shemitic or Surya races (the precursors of the Aryans proper)—termed “aboriginal primitive tribes [*Tchandala*, *Chhandalas*, only once mentioned in the Institutes of Manu], who migrated from Central Asia and the steppes of Tartary and Thibet by successive incursions”—have by the succeeding Arya, or Brahman, or Iranian, or Chandra race (their persecutors and oppressors) been called *Dasyas*, *Yatudhanas*, *Tchandalas*, etc., and described as monstrous in form, godless, inhuman, haters of Brahmins, disturbers of sacred rites, eaters of human and horse flesh. Prejudice is a prominent obstacle to the prevalence of truth. The strength of prejudice is amazing. Though assailed by common-sense, reason, and argument, it often remains as deeply rooted and vigorous as ever; nay, it is frequently nourished by the very efforts which are made for its destruction. Prejudice will often induce a man or woman to say and believe everything contrary to truth.

¹ See *Ancestry of our East Indian Immigrants* (8vo edit., pp. 16-18), for division of India between Jyapeti and Shama, according to *Padma Purana*. Shem's descendants, whose “God was blessed,” first occupied and dwelt in India, and then they were followed by Japheth's descendants, “dwelling in the tents of Shem.”

Just as we say or speak of individuals whom we dislike, "So and so is ugly as sin," or "ugly as the devil himself," etc., so the ancient writers of the Puranas and *Ramayana* (portions of which I have read in my youthful days) have described some of the tribes of the Hindus, whom they disliked on account of their having opposed them, etc., in the following terms, which are exaggerations of national ugliness:—*Kakamukhas*, crow-faced; *Oshtha-karnakas*, having lips extending to their ears; *Ekapadakas*, one-footed; *Ashta-karnakas*, the eight-eared; *Karna-pravaranas*, those who wrap themselves up in their ears, etc., etc. These and other kindred terms are found in the *Ramayana* and other works. And all these are ranked with the other barbarians—*Kiratas*, called Yavanas, or Greeks, the Sakai and Sacæ of classical writers, the Indo-Scythians of Ptolemy. One cannot read the ancient Hindu books without profound pity that the human mind should become so deceitful as to invent, or so degraded as to accept, such monstrous falsehoods and absurdities. The chronology, geography, ethnology, and theology of India are a farrago of deception and superstition. When the predominance of the Chandra or Aryan invaders of India, in prehistoric times or remote period, became finally more marked and influential over the first settlers, who were afterwards driven to Southern parts or districts of India, they non-Aryanized, or, An-Aryanized them, and thus became divided into two separate families, distinct from each other, though they all alike started from the same part of the tableland of Central Asia in successive migrations. The very principles upon which the Brahman or Arya invaders established their power, and the laws and usages with which they endeavoured to support that power, were the means to sap the foundation of the Indian Empire and people. With regard to the history of the country, the Hindus have really nothing but monstrous fables and myths, from which occasionally a grain of truth may be culled. According to the chronology of India, millions of years have been occupied by the inhabitants in developing their successes and failures, and the wonderful performances and achievements of their gods many and their lords many. I may add here that according to

certain Hindu authorities, between B.C. 4000 and 3000, the much-persecuted Draudyans or Tararyans re-migrated towards the west in crowds, entering the countries of Sindh and Aryavatta (Iran) in the direction of the Euphrates and Tigris, towards Babylon and Chaldea, the chief of these expeditions being under Artaxa-Phasicol. It was thus, therefore, that the primitive wanderers, with their flocks and herds—together a pastoral people—emerged from the Holy Land of Palistan, the country of the chief of the Tribes. All this may be read in the *Avadana-Sastra*, and, however exaggerated, is nevertheless authentic history. From these have originated the Greeks, Phœnicians, Philistines, Hykshos, Cymri, Romans, Danes, Normans, and other races or nations of antiquity. The Draudyans or Tararyans (Ural-Altaic) people had been seen in very early times by the Assyrians as occupying cities, as skilled in architecture, astrology, writing, and the arts of peace and war. The very culture terms in use among the ancient Assyrians were mostly of Tararyan origin, growths of the earlier Tararyan soil. The first rise or origin of civilisation was altogether Draudya or Tararyan; or, rather, what the Tararyan had begun in the line of civilisation was more fully developed and carried out by their immediate successors the Aryans. Now, in the nineteenth century, when the fair-faced British or Anglo-Saxon and other European nations and the tawny Hindu—from North and South India—meet on the plains of Hindustan, or on the plains of British Guyana, who could believe that their ancestors had once herded their flocks together, watched the rising and setting of the sun, “and the immeasurable heavens break open to their highest, and all the stars shine”? Forgetting their kinship, and ignorant of each other’s relationship, they meet as independent and alien tribes or races.

3. Though a veil of obscurity hangs over ancient India, so as to prevent the student of history from writing a real and accurate history of the country, it is pretty certain that the country was pretty well known to the ancients. The Arabs were the first to introduce the produce of India into the West. We read of a caravan of camels in the days of Jacob,

conducted by Ishmaelites from Gilead, laden with the spices of India, in regular traffic with Egypt. Cinnamon does not grow in any country but on the western coast of India, and in the island of Ceylon—the Taprobana of the Greeks, the Serandwip or Lanka of the ancient Hindus. This sweet spice was used by the Israelites, in their wilderness journey of forty years, during the time of Moses, in their religious offerings. Pearls and hyacinth stones (the ruby) are chiefly found in Ceylon, and on the shores of the Persian Gulf. These were articles of traffic in Solomon's time. For a period of 1000 years, 500 before and 500 after Christ, Ceylon continued to be the great emporium of the Hindus, who carried on the trade from Aduli on the coast of Africa, Yeman, Malabar, and the ultra-Gangetic Peninsula, even to China. Agatharcides, who flourished B.C. 200, mentions the existence of a town at the mouth of the Red Sea, whence, he says, the Arabs sent out colonies into India, who formed their factories, and to which their large ships with merchandise came from India. Might not this town referred to by Agatharcides be the very one built by King Solomon, whence he sent his navy to Ophir, etc. (1 Kings ix. 26–28). In the time of Pliny the Arabs were in such numbers on the Malabar coast and in Ceylon, that, as he states, the Hindus of those places had embraced the religion of the Arabians, and the ports of Ceylon were entirely in their power. We have sufficient internal as well as external historic and corroborative evidence and testimony to lead us to the conclusion that the various names or terms, such as TARSHISH (1 Kings x. 21–23), OPHIR (1 Kings ix. 28), UPHAS (Jer. x. 9), PARVAIM (2 Chron. iii. 6), mentioned in the Old Testament books, may be identified with *Serandwip*, *Dakshina*, or the Malayan Peninsula (including also Malacca), *Tanjore*, or Cholamandalam, and *Madura*, *Tinnevely*, and *Travancore* (forming the Southern Kingdom of India). According to the Puranic writing (if any dependence can be placed on, or any value be attached to, the statements therein made) Southern Hindustan was anciently, or in some remote prehistoric time, divided into five kingdoms. The names of *three* of these kingdoms exist in the literary works of great merit in use among

the Draudyen races of Southern India—SERAN, SORAN, PANDYAN. At one time these three, according to certain Ceylon inscriptions, were used as a designation or description of the whole of South India. Apart from what I have said in my *Ancestry of our East Indian Immigrants*, with reference to Ophir and Tarshish, I may here add that UPHAS and PARVAIM are but Hebraized forms of the kingdoms of Soran and Pandyan,—APHAYAS being the old classic Tamil name for Cholamandalam, or Soramandalam, the *Paralia Soretanum* of Ptolemy, afterwards called TANJORE; and PURAVAM, the ancient Tamil name (the modern being *Maleinadu*) for PANDYA KINGDOM, or MADURA, and probably including TRAVANCORE, which once formed the Seran Kingdom, including Serandwip or Ceylon, both and all of which kingdoms were known to King Solomon, and to the ancients centuries before Solomon was born. The terms Puravam, Puravanadu, Maleinadu, signify “the hill country,” or “hilly regions” of the Pandya dynasty (*Regio Pandionis*). There was also another kingdom in Southern India pretty well known to the ancients, called ANDHRA; and Pliny speaks of the Rex Andrarum as a powerful Draudya Indian prince. These, and others in the North and South-western parts, were all once famous kingdoms of ancient India when Africa was involved in almost total obscurity, from which Europe herself was slowly emerging. “Dr. Vincent’s translation of Ezekiel’s eloquent and wonderful denunciations (chapter xxvii.) against Tyrus, presents to the reader the ‘tusks (benches) of ivory,’ ‘the gold and precious stones’ of India, the rich cloths for decorating horsemen or chariots, which were received from the Gulf of Persia; while the Assyrians, [who settled in the region of the great Mesopotamian valley, were the descendants of the Tararyan Tchandalas referred to in paragraph 2 of this chapter, and were in time for many reasons named ‘the Romans of Asia,’ in the same way and manner as the bulk of the Tamilian Hindus have been named ‘the Greeks, or Scotch, or Britons of the East,’ and who, having become great and powerful in their country—Assyria,—and having maintained their empire for seven centuries or more, penetrated with their armies on the

east to India, the land of their ancestors, on the north to the Caspian Sea, on the west to the Nile and Isles of the Ægean Sea, and carried on an extensive commercial business with their kinsmen in India,] brought fine manufacture, blue cloth and brodered work, or fabrics of various colours, in chests of cedar, bound with cords, containing rich apparel. Dr. Vincent inquires with evident propriety, 'May not these be the fabrics of India, first brought to Assyria by the Gulf of Persia, or by caravans from Karmania and the Indus, and then conveyed by the Assyrians in other caravans to Tyre and Sidon?' The Phœnicians were at first a warlike people, as sacred history represents them; and 1200 years before Christ they settled as colonists, and traded as mariners in the East as well as in the West. The Phœnicians, who were thorough business men, and genuine Philistines, and Englishmen of the ancient world, who followed commerce with the single-hearted devotion of the Shemitic, were closely allied to the ancient Tamilians on account of their Draudyen or Tararyan origin or ancestry. Dedan, and the other island Arad, in the Persian Gulf, served as entrepôts of ships, as emporiums for commerce; and "the men of Dedan went afar off," probably to Ceylon (Serandwip or Taprobana) and Peninsular India, if not also to the Indian Archipelago; they doubtless traded to Ceylon or other parts in Southern India for "the sweet cane," which was presented in the Jewish offerings. The Indian peninsula to the west of the Bay of Bengal, and the contiguous island Ceylon, were the principal places of this navigation, even in the days of King Solomon.

4. SESOSTRIS, SEMIRAMIS, DARIUS, and ALEXANDER THE GREAT, however, were the earliest of the foreign conquerors to bring the empire of India before the modern world. Each in his turn did everything to devastate and ruin the land of splendour and its inhabitants. But why? The answer of our beloved sovereign Victoria to an African prince, who sent her costly presents, and asked her in return to tell him the secret of England's greatness and England's glory, was, not the number of her fleet, not the number of her armies, not the account of her boundless merchandise, not the details of her inexhaustible wealth. She did not, like Hezekiah, in an evil

hour, show the ambassador her diamonds, and her jewels, and her ornaments ; but, handing him a beautifully bound copy of the BIBLE, she said : " Tell the prince that *this* is the secret of England's greatness." In Prov. xiv. 34 of this Book it is stated by Divine inspiration, " RIGHTEOUSNESS EXALTETH A NATION : but sin is a reproach to any people." Had the ancient as well as the modern Hindus practised and observed this " righteousness which exalteth a nation," their country would have remained in all its original glory and splendour, and no foreign powers would have entered to devastate and ruin it. Sin—the abominable sin of idolatry, and the intolerable caste distinction maintained in India—has been the curse of the country, and the only cause of its downfall. This double sin has for centuries been the reproach, the withering curse of the country as a whole, and it has blighted and blasted the interests and reputation of the people ; and the people being in consequence disunited or separated from each other (forgetting that " unity is strength ") into almost innumerable fragments of society, in affection, love, purpose, and action, it gave an opening to strangers and foreigners to find their way into their midst, deprive them of their rights, and rule over them. Caste does not resemble a guild, or club, or league, or such-like institution, wherein individuals, though banded together for certain special objects (many of them being essentially philanthropic), are yet always ready to admit other suitable individuals into their society, and who yet continue to constitute an integral part of the general community. On the contrary, caste is *altogether* exclusive. It separates man from man, family from family. It is like a house divided against itself. It is the principal, yea, the *only* impenetrable barrier to freedom of social intercourse between Europeans and Indians. The high-caste Hindu and the Brahman alike refuse to sit at meals with Europeans, whose very shadow passing over their food or cooking utensils will defile them, so as to be thrown away. Though, with all her faults and blemishes, I love India, being my native country, I have often been disposed to look upon it as a God-forsaken land on account of the sin just referred to. The Hindo-Guyanians may well bless God that

they are not living and growing up in India, so as to share all the ignominies of the religion professed by their ancestors, and witness all the abominations of Hinduism and Hindu casteism practised there ; and I sincerely hope that those who are born in the Colony will never show any disposition to accompany their parents to that once famed, and now doubly and trebly cursed, idolatrous, and caste land, where on the house and heart of each pagan "Ichabod" is written.

5. When MAHMUD of Ghuzni, one of the most important principalities of Afghanistan, found his way into the province of Gujrat in the tenth century A.D., he succeeded, after a long and desperate contest, in capturing this venerated town. Somnaud was a renowned abode of a shrine of extraordinary sanctity. Attached to this far-famed temple were 2000 Brahman priests or Gurus, 500 devadasies (dancing girls), 300 musicians, and other attendants in great numbers. When Mahmud saw the gigantic and far-famed idol,—the "GREAT DIANA" of the then Hindus,—with wrathful zeal he struck off its nose, giving orders for its entire and instant demolition. As the attendant Brahmans saw the threatened downfall of this object of their profoundest veneration, they fell on their knees, and proffered an immense sum for its preservation ; but the Muhammedan conqueror, true to his creed (not like some of our British so-called Christian governors, the representatives of Christian sovereigns in England or Great Britain, who countenanced idolatry in all its disgusting forms, and even went so far as to offer sacrifices and peace-offerings, thus bringing a lasting disgrace to Christianity), indignantly replied, "*I am a breaker, not a buyer of idols.*" The work of demolition proceeded ; and, on reaching the interior of the image, there was disclosed a treasure in *pearls, rubies, and diamonds* almost beyond conception, and far surpassing the immense sum tendered for its redemption. With the treasures of Somnaud, Mahmud carried the chandana gates of that town wherewith to grace his mountain home. The Muhammedan or Mussulman persecution of the heathen Hindus in Northern Hindustan was so severe and destructive, that the very temple worship was neglected, and the people cared very little for temples or idols. It was

this persecuting spirit on the part of the Mussulman conquerors which deterred the Hindus from building magnificent temples afterwards. We are further told by the historian of Hindustan, that in the year of our Lord 1498, when Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese navigator, landed for the first time on the shores of India, some of his sailors, seeing a pagoda, and concluding, from the beads worn by the Brahmans, and the chandana wood incense burning, that it was a Christian (Romish) sanctuary or temple, at once entered, and, noticing a variety of pictures upon the wall, prostrated themselves before them, as before the Madonna and saints. But one of the worshippers, as by chance he looked up and observed the strange and uncouth aspect of these imaginary apostles and saints, some of whom brandished four and five arms, and had enormous teeth projecting out of their mouths, judged it advisable to guard himself by the explanation, "*If these be devils, it is God whom I worship.*" Various other Muhammedan princes and shahs from time to time entered India from various parts, who, with wholesale butcheries, introduced their own religious creed, and Muhammedanized the vanquished foes. When NADIR SHAH entered India, he slaughtered the inhabitants of Delhi without regard to age or sex, captured Ayodhya (Oudh), seized upon the imperial treasures, and conveyed thence £3,000,000 (\$14,400,000) in specie, £1,000,000 (\$4,800,000) dollars in plate, £15,000,000 (\$72,000,000) in jewels, the renowned Peacock Throne, valued at \$4,800,000 (£1,000,000), and other valuables to the amount of £12,000,000 (\$57,000,000), besides elephants, horses, and camp equipages of the deposed maharajah. The Moghuls, Afghans, Persians, Mahrattas, and Muhammedans have each done their part in impoverishing and devastating the truly once rich empire of India. "Nothing" (observes a historian) "in modern times has equalled the ferocity and desperation of these Moslem conquerors. Urged on by a mad enthusiasm, intoxicated with the hope of rich booty, and inspired with the promise of beatitude if they died fighting with the infidels, they sprang like tigers on their prey. A fertile country was left desolate; flourishing cities, heaps of ruin; palaces were

burned, temples pillaged, and rivers sacred to their fathers flowed with human blood." On account of the wickedness of the people of that country, these terrible calamities and judgments befel them. The dark volume of terrible events has, however, come to a close. ALL India is now, in truth, what it has long been in name, BRITISH INDIA.

6. India is a vast empire, inhabited by the descendants of the various tribes of the one human race, who all proceeded from the same part of the tableland of Central Asia. The natives as a whole are called "Indians," or "HINDUS," which is a term of large import: and in a special sense the word HINDUS, like MUHAMMEDANS, has reference to their religious creeds. Though the nation as a whole are one and the same race, composed of different tribes, yet from the different localities occupied and the languages spoken by them, quite distinct from each other, they are (like the English, Scotch, Welsh, Irish, French, Dutch, etc.) known by the names of Tamilians, Bengalese, Nepalese, Telingas, Kanarese, Uryas, Gonds, etc., etc. The representatives of these different localities, creeds, laws, and languages are now to be found in the Colony, and all their children born here are HINDO-GUYANIANS, allied to both countries, of which they need not be ashamed. British Guyana is their foster, and India their ancestral, home.

7. I cannot close this chapter without making some remarks about the great future of India and its teeming millions. By the pugnacious and self-opinioned Englishmen, — who have gone out to India from England every year to get fat berths or best positions in the public service there with enormous salaries, and after a few years return to England with large pensions, to live in idleness and luxury at the expense of the poor Indian ryot, who has been plundered and robbed long enough, — the native population of India have been considered an inferior race, and treated as such, and represented as a people unable to help and govern themselves without the aid or assistance of these Englishmen. This is certainly big and foolish talk, at the bottom of which we clearly trace ignorance and class prejudice on their part. "The Hindus or Indians will

never be properly loyal to our rule if we do not oblige them, by showing them practically that they are our inferiors." This kind of argument, I hesitate not to say, has always been used since the world began to excuse perpetual injustice toward conquered populations. The time is fast hastening—as soon as the word "ICHABOD," now written *upon the HOUSE and HEART of each PAGAN*, is removed by the spread of Christian truths, and the nation as a whole turn unto the Lord, forsaking all their caste and idolatrous abominations—when Indians will wake up to the fact of their equality with any other enlightened nation in the world, and show that the hitherto supposed and assumed "ancient rights" enjoyed by Englishmen, to be judged by their own people in all cases, both civil and criminal, in which Englishmen themselves were partly or wholly concerned, were baseless, illegal, and illiberal assumptions. The populations of India must indeed be unlike any other populations that ever existed, if they really prefer to be kept in a position of entire subjection and inferiority.

“The Romans, when they were masters in Britain, considered it their best policy, in order to keep the people of that country in subjection, to teach and keep them to peaceable professions only. The result of this was that, when at the beginning of the decadence of the power of Rome she was compelled to withdraw her legions in order to defend herself at home, the Britons were incapable of resisting the encroachments of their warlike neighbours, and so were obliged to call in the assistance of the Saxons; who, taking possession for themselves, were ultimately driven out by the Norman conquerors. All this happened over ten centuries ago, since which time many causes have conspired to make England not only the home and centre of civilisation, but one of the strongest and most independent nations of the earth. But what would a proud, selfish, and narrow-minded Roman (for we may reasonably suppose that there were some such, even amongst this great nation of antiquity) have said, if told that the descendants of those same Britons, whom they despised and sold for slaves in the markets of Rome, would in their turn arrive at the highest pitch of greatness and excellence, while the constantly revolving wheel of fortune would cast him

and his entirely into the shade.. He would doubtless have exclaimed, with indignation increasing at every word, 'What! These barbarians!! Why, the thing is simply and utterly preposterous!!!' But so it is,—the ups and downs of life are proverbial,—and as it is with individuals, so it is with nations: *Chacun à son tour*. Where now is the greatness and the grandeur of the Roman and other empires? Gone back into that insignificance from which they sprang. This brings to my mind those beautiful lines of Byron:—

‘The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece,
 Where burning Sappho lov'd and sung;
 Where grew the arts of war and peace,
 Where Delos rose, and Phœbus sprung;
 Eternal summer gilds them yet,
 But all except their sun is set.’

“There is a beautiful analogy running throughout all the framework of nature; and, reasoning from this analogy, I repeat that there is probably a great future in store for India and her sons,—a future which God (with whom a thousand years are as but a day) will by His own instruments, in His own time, and according to the prophecy of His **own** Word, bring about.”

The swaggering talk about the prerogative or inferiority of race might have done very well for a Spaniard in America in the days of the Conquistadores, or a Southern planter before the American Civil War; but it does not belong to the language of sober, steady Englishmen, who rule in, and legislate for, India. The educated natives of India know too well how hollow and deceitful are the professions of Englishmen with regard to race equality in the distribution of offices. India is a country in which facts are recognised, not theories and logical deductions. The same remarks are applicable to the Colony of British Guyana, and the West Indies generally. [See Introductory Chapter.]

CHAPTER IV.

THE HINDO-GUYANIANS AND THEIR DESIRE FOR INFORMATION.

1. I HAVE stated that a very large number of our East Indian population is composed of those whom we may call HINDO-GUYANIANS, having a claim to both countries ; being in origin of descent Asiatics or Hindus, and in birth, training, and language, Guyanians or "Creoles," whose native tongue is the English, which they speak freely and well, and in many instances much better than the natives of the Colony of African descent. These are found on every estate throughout the Colony. In the city of Georgetown alone we have a considerable number of them who are daily attracting the attentions of thoughtful Christian and philanthropic persons. They are tractable, and only require gentle attentions paid to them. There is enough work for any number of earnest Christian men and women to do among them for their spiritual benefit. The hundreds of East Indian children who have been brought up in our "Orphan Asylum" since its foundation know nothing of their parental languages, they all being taught to read, write, and converse in English,—the language of the Colony. A few of those brought up in the Asylum have done well after they left it, and many others are living in different parts of the Colony, working steadily, thus bringing credit to this colonial institution, which is entirely supported by the Government. All the children received into this institution are made professionally to become members of the Anglican Church by baptism, so that when a Christian minister of any Nonconformist body visits the children of the Asylum, he needs be careful not to open his mouth to speak to them on religious or spiritual things. It is only when these youngsters (after they leave the institution) have grown up into manhood and womanhood, that they can be met with

in different parts of the city and Colony, and then an opportunity is afforded to converse with them freely on spiritual things without "let or hindrance."

2. The infants who leave India with their parents for the Colony, the children born on sea during the voyage (who, I suppose, have a claim upon Stepney in England), and those born in the Colony, and ALL of them brought up here, whose language becomes the English, are mercifully preserved from beholding all the abominable scenes and practices of Hinduism as practised in India. Whether the children born in the Colony are of Muhammedan or Hindu parents, or whether they are the children of parents who have been separated from each other by caste and languages in their own land, or from whatever parts of India (as Allahabad, Lucknow, Bombay, Nepal, Lahore, Delhi, Cashmere, Madras, Pôndicherry, Tinnevely, etc.) their parents have come,—whether they be called in India, Gajurs, Dunjas, Bheels, Koles, Gonds, Khands, Kotas, Kurmees, Warras, etc.,—all children in the Colony born of such parents become Hindo-Guyanians. Just as the British people have, or are made up of, a very mixed ancestry of different varieties of the one human race; so the Hindo-Guyanians, though they may descend from people of different languages and castes, are *one* in the Colony, where caste is ignored, and where all the national prejudices and differences are laughed at and ridiculed by people amongst whom they have come to dwell, and by the very children themselves of East Indian parents. The word CREOLE, though applied to the children of Asiatic parents, is too wide a term, as in it are included the children of other nationalities, as English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, Portuguese, French, Chinese, Arabs, Africans, etc.; whereas the term HINDO-GUYANIANS points to one nationality in particular. And as I am writing on a particular class of people, who are becoming rather important in an agricultural point of view, I use the term Hindo-Guyanians as specially referring to them. Under this term I include, also, a number of children found on almost every sugar estate, called Mamzerim or Shatukim,—the parents' reproach and dishonour. These are the offspring of base and unprincipled (so called)

Christian European fathers and heathen Indian mothers. Strictly speaking, these children should be called Anglo-Indian-Guyanese. Apart from these accidental faults and blemishes on their part, they, with the rest of those who have come from India, are becoming very prominent in the Colony. The Creole labouring population and their children, in the different country districts are (I am sorry to write it, as a matter about which there can be little or no doubt) retrograding both physically and morally, and also as an industrial race. They spend much of their time in idleness and debauchery, and when they can get an opportunity, which is often the case, they not only cheat and rob their own countrymen, but too often succeed in cheating and robbing the "wide-awake" Portuguese shopkeeper. A black man who had run into debt with the Portuguese shop, was one day dunned rather sharply for payment by the shopkeeper:—

"'I isn't hable to pay you cash this moment,' said the debtor, 'but I will gi'e you a note upon t'ree mont's.' 'Note!' said Senhor; 'wha me go do wi' note? I aint going to take no note.' To this the debtor remarked, 'You muss took it to de bank and get money for it, same like Water Street merchant; that's all you have to do.' Said the shopkeeper, 'I aint have nothing to do with bank,—note aint no use to me.' 'Well,' said the debtor, 'you hab refuse payments of your account, in kine of de realm, and I aint obliged to pay you no more. I offers you a note same like any other gentlemans, and because you is a Portugue, make you aint take it. I stop my transactions wid you.' And the Portuguese is still lying out of his money."

"As an inducement to lend him fifty dollars, a person in Water Street promised on his oath to give the lender a first mortgage on a lot of landed property, which—here the borrower shed a tear—he never hoped to have to mortgage, for it had long been in the family. The kind-hearted lender gave the sum, and asked the man to be sure and bring the title-deeds, for he was prepared to lend him a reasonable sum on his property. Next day the man brought a Town Council receipt for a piece of land in Le Repentir, size 10 × 12, or just sufficient to hold the tomb in which his grandmother lies buried."¹

¹ *Argus*, 1882.

3. As a rule the Hindo-Guyanian children thrive well in the Colony. They have bright eyes and intelligent looks, and are sharp-witted, not at all disposed to be rude and disobedient. They are always willing to do what they are told, and many of them have itching ears and inquiring minds to hear everything that would give them information and make them wise and useful. So far as their configuration is concerned, their facial beauty is marred by the nose-rings and ear-rings worn by the males. Having had their ears and noses bored by their parents in their infancy, they are obliged to keep pace with the customs and usages of the people of India. Some even allow their hair to grow long. When they become Christians they see the necessity of dispensing with these things and adopting the European style of dress. The children in our public schools make good use of the opportunity afforded to them; they are not idle scholars. They have an aptitude for learning which is astonishing. This assiduity and zeal in the acquisition of knowledge, with their naturally gifted minds, draw or captivate one's affections closer to them. I have often been brought in contact with some of the brightest and most intelligent of Hindu boys in the Colony. As they are great readers of our local newspapers, they get to know everything which transpires in the Colony and elsewhere, and form their own opinions upon the different topics of the day discussed in their columns. They see how people live. They watch them narrowly. Though they do not try to ape as some people do, they strive to imitate them in their dress and manners, desire to do what is right, and try to be respectable in their own way, as far as means will allow them to do. It is not an uncommon thing in the city (especially in Bourda district, where we have a large number of free Indians living), at the close of the day's work, to hear these youngsters narrate the events of the day to their fathers and mothers, and sometimes read the newspapers to them. They see how their parents live and act; they feel ashamed of their heathenish ways, and yet they lack moral courage and strength to break away from their parents' influence. Very frequently I have been visited by these Hindo-Guyanians, from town and country, for the

purpose of conversing with me on religious subjects, and also to hear from me things concerning their ancestral home—India. They have always shown a disposition to do what is right, though often prevented, by those near and dear at home, and by the evil influences of bad example on the part of our Creole people, from carrying out their intentions and desires. Whatever their shortcomings may be, they are far from being disobedient to their parents, and rude or impolite to their superiors. They are taught by their parents from their infancy to be respectful to all. In this respect, if in nothing else, they are superior to the general run of other Creole children we often meet with in the city and country places.

4. It would be superfluous to descant on the evil influences of bad example set by our Creole population. Those whose position in life is not of the very best, look to those who are above them for the example by which they are to be guided ; and when there is cause for being scandalized, the consequences may be better imagined than explained. These remarks have special reference to certain classes of the community who try to emulate their superiors, and, in doing so, even go the length of spending all they earn. If a fancy ball is given in the Assembly Rooms, several fancy balls are given in lower places. The latest fashions are followed in local circles, and on Sundays we see the generality of the people turning out also in costly dresses. So also in manners and customs do the lower classes take their lessons from those who are expected to know better than themselves ; and if a bad example is set, it can only have a bad effect on a class of people who are led not so much by precept as by example. Hence those who essay to teach have always had to be most circumspect in their demeanour as well as exacting in their treatment of those over whom they exercise a moral influence. The respectable or upper classes in the Colony, to whom nearly all look up to for example, are often no better than those whom they look upon as inferiors. Their secret life, their conversations, etc., etc., are not what one would desire to behold and imitate. Gambling, drinking, Sabbath-breaking, etc., are the essential principles of their life in a Colony like British Guyana ; and

they dare not be reproved, because those who ought to do so are themselves guilty of the same, and often find themselves in the company of such. What evils and vices they tolerate and encourage in some of the upper classes, they condemn when practised by the lower orders.

5. There are people in the Colony who believe that it is an easy matter to convert a heathen or Muhammedan Indian to Christianity, though that heathen or Muhammedan may by birth be a Hindo-Guyanian. This is a great mistake. It must be remembered that amongst the Immigrants there are a great many persons who are highly educated, and who have a civilisation and religion of their own to point back to, long antecedent to the days when our ancestors were savages covered with the skins of beasts. The missionaries have to combat with these men; and to convince them against the idols they worship, men of no mean ability are required,—men thoroughly reliable, of great erudition and strict moral principles, to set a good example before them, and be able to meet the various arguments of the Hindus and Muhammedans. It is an easy matter to cut down the sapling with a single stroke, but it is much tougher work to hew the mighty oak. And Hinduism is not a theory formulated to-day: it is a growth of centuries. The heathen Indian thinks that he would be drawing down upon his head and his family the curse of heaven if he abandoned his ancestral faith for that of a foreign people. For him, brought up as he is in a grovelling religion, the pure and sublime doctrines of Christianity have no attraction; and he simply looks upon the missionary of the Cross as an agent sent by the English Government to effect his religious subjugation. The Hindo-Guyanians, in like manner, it must be remembered, as soon as they are born, breathe an atmosphere impregnated with Hindu doctrines. They are reared upon it, and the tissue of their mind is just what one might expect from such nutriment. As soon as you press the claims of Christ upon them, they oppose you with arguments which are not to be despised. Too frequently the cleverness and perspicuity of their reasoning, the aptness of their illustration, would put to shame many an intelligent West Indian or an English boy. The Muhammedan

Indian, on the other hand, will hardly condescend to hear him. In his proud estimation, the Christian teacher can have nothing to offer to him worthy of his consideration and acceptance. He pretends that the revelation in the gospel has been abrogated by the later revelation contained in Al-Kuran, and is always repeating the well-known formula of his belief, "There is one God, and Muhammed is the Apostle of God." Though the children are taught from their infancy to believe and practise what their ancestors believed and practised, and to look upon Christianity as a thing unworthy of their notice, and as a religion unsuitable to them, yet there are large numbers of Hindo-Guyanians who are firm but secret believers in the truth of Christianity, which, as a system, is *Dharmma-chakka-pravarttana-sutra*—the royal chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteousness in Christ. Only they have no desire to offend their parents by boldly renouncing their ancestral creed or religion. "Not just now, by and by, when our parents are dead and gone, we shall become Christians," is the language a missionary often hears from our Hindo-Guyanians. Addressing a mixed congregation one Sabbath forenoon in Lacytown some time ago, I had occasion to speak of the incarnation of Jesus Christ. The following afternoon, being Monday, six Hindo-Guyanians, who were present at that open-air service listening to my discourse, found their way to my *then* residence to ask me some questions about Vishnu's incarnation and the character of the Indian Gurus, etc. I at once complied with their request, and gave them the following information which they wanted :—The Shastras¹ make mention of Vishnu's *das-avatar*—ten incarnations. In his first incarnation he was born as a fish ; in his second, as a tortoise ; in his third, as a swine ; in his fourth, as a monster, half man and half lion. In his fifth incarnation, assuming the form of a dwarf Brahman, named Vamana, he cheated Mahabali, and tricked him out of his dominions. In his sixth, born as Parasurama, he decapitated many kings. In his seventh, appearing as Rama, he was robbed of his wife Sita, and succeeded in killing her ravisher only with the assistance of a monkey host. In his eighth, he

¹ See Chapter IX., part (iii.) *Vishnu*.

became Krishna, and was notorious as a thief. In his ninth, born as Bouddha, he taught the atheistical creed, which denies the existence of God and the human soul. In his tenth incarnation, which is still future, he will, it is predicted, flourish as a horse.¹ Is it possible for any sane man to trust in such a character or person who committed such atrocities as these, and wandered about as a thief and a debauchee? The bare acknowledgment of such a person as either God or Guru is in itself a heinous sin. "This is horrible," said one of my visitors; "and is it possible that our ancestors believed all this rubbish, and held up Vishnu as an object of worship and adoration?" Another young man of the party asked me, "Did not Shiva, sitting as a Guru in the shade of the stone-banyan, teach Divine truth? Why may we not accept him as a heavenly teacher?" I replied in the following manner:—The Shivaite gospel, called the Skandha Purana, gives the following particulars about this god worshipped by your ancestors:—

"Shiva, the three-eyed one, having transformed Vishnu from his natural figure into a beautiful damsel, and having divested himself of his clothes, went, trident and mendicant's vessel in hand, accompanied by the metamorphosed Vishnu, into Tarugavana, celebrated among men as the sacred abode of the Rishis. Having entered the holy precincts, Shiva, addressing Vishnu, spoke as follows: Go thou, approach all the places where these congregated Rishis, thoughtless of me, have made their abode. Exercise all thy fascinations, and awaken within them libidinous desires. After thus compelling them to violate their vows of continency, return quickly to my side." [The rest of the story about Shiva's ravishing the wives of the Rishis is too obscene to be mentioned here.]

Can a character or person, I asked, as Shiva, who, not satisfied with inciting another to base and lascivious actions,

¹ Multitudes there are among the Immigrants at this hour who are thoroughly convinced that Christianity has truth upon its side, but then they are deterred from acting up to their convictions only because they cannot make up their minds to bear the sacrifices which such a profession must involve. I have heard some of the converts say that this tenth avatar of Vishnu typifies the downfall of Hinduism and the exaltation of Christianity. May God hasten that period!

himself, losing all sense of decency, roamed about naked, singing lewd songs, and ravishing other men's wives, be a god worthy of adoration, or Divine Guru to give instructions and precepts? Never. . . . And as to the duping Gurus or heathen priests, both in India and in the Colony, whom thousands follow, I may say that they are all false teachers. I will narrate a story which was told me when I was young, bearing on this subject:—A bear with her cubs having fallen into a broad and deep river, was borne rapidly down the stream. A dishonest and selfish shepherd, spying the floating bear, mistook it for a sheep, and, eager to catch the valuable prize, leaped into the swelling stream. The bear no sooner saw the swimming shepherd, than, supposing him to be a raft, and hoping by its means to gain the shore, made directly for him. Thereupon the shepherd seizing the bear, and the bear laying hold of the shepherd, both of them, locked in a close embrace, went to the bottom never to rise again. Now, said I, the false Indian Gurus, like that shepherd, seek only their own gain. Thousands, as foolish as the bear, suppose those false Gurus to be a saving raft. Such lying teachers and all who are ignorant and besotted enough to trust in them, locked in a fatal embrace, must inevitably fall into hell, and share together a common and eternal ruin. I am frequently obliged to use parables, stories, and other incidents, so as to convey truth to their minds. On another occasion I used a parable which is substantially as follows:—A fatal disease is devastating a kingdom; every remedy applied by the people proves ineffectual. The king, therefore, devises a specific, and commissions several physicians to administer it to the dying people. But a learned man, unconcerned about the people, urges upon one of the physicians to give him information about the king and his mysterious existence. The physician complies with the request, and spends his time in explaining inexplicable mysteries; meanwhile his patients die. The king, hearing of this, sends for the physician, and addresses him thus: "Sir, what is your commission?" Answer: "To administer specific to the sick." "Did you do it?" "Please your Majesty, no; for a learned Moulvi required information about your Majesty's existence

and life, and in giving that I had no time to administer the medicine." "What then became of the people?" Answer: "They died." Hearing this, the king looked upon the man with indignation, and said, "What! You saw the people dying around you; you had the remedy, and knew that there was no other by which the people could be cured, and yet you spent your time in conversing about mysteries far beyond your comprehension? The people, indeed, died in their sins, but you are guilty of their death, and their blood rests upon your head; away, therefore, with you!" Now say, my friends, did this fellow not deserve death? "He did," was the exclamation of some. But I continued, "What is the meaning of this parable?" "You need not explain this," said a young man; "its meaning is plain. Instead of disputing about the Trinity, you wish to preach the gospel, for we are the dying, and the gospel is the remedy." "You are right," I said, and, opening my New Testament, and pointing to it, I said to my opponent, "Here is my commission, it is to preach the gospel. The people are dying, and I must administer the specific."

"*Ellā vizhakkum vizhakk-alla, Sanrōrkku, Poyyā vizhakkē vizhakkū*"
(*Kuralh*, 299), i.e.,—

"It is not every lamp gives light;
To wise men only truth is bright."

Judging from the intense desire evinced by the East Indian population as a whole for a knowledge of the English language to be able to converse in it, I hesitate not to say that, were it possible for immigration from India to come to an end or cease, that within the next twenty or twenty-five years all the East Indian languages now spoken will become things of the past, and the ENGLISH will be the only living spoken language of the Immigrants in the Colony.

6. One great drawback or impediment to the progress of Christianity among the coolies, is the *want of* UNITY among Christian ministers of the different Protestant Churches, and the existence of the unfortunate tendency of humanity to sectarianism. When the poor heathen and Muhammedan Indians around us are told, or rather hear from certain teachers, that there are only two true Churches—the Romish

and the Episcopal Church of England—in the world, and all others, by whatever name they may be called, are false,—and the teachers or preachers connected with them are not true teachers, and therefore have no right to preach or teach, because they have not had episcopal hands laid upon their heads, and all persons belonging to such denominations have no hope of salvation,—can we expect the heathen to abandon their idolatrous worship and become Christians? Sectarianism is a great stumbling-block to the poor heathen who know nothing of Christianity. I am glad, however, to notice that among several young Hindo-Guyanians specially interesting cases have cheered my heart, as indicating the positive good which follows earnest efforts.

CHAPTER V.

CHARACTER OF THE RELIGION OF OUR EAST INDIAN POPULATION.

1. THE Hindus are emphatically a religious people. Their whole life is bound up with religion. But what sort of a religion is it they profess and practise? Perhaps my reader may say, What does it matter what religion the Hindu or any other person professes, so long as his life is right? and, to confirm this statement, quote the poet's adage,—

“For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight ;—
It is can't be wrong whose life is in the right.”

But this is as false in logic as it is dangerous in principle. No man's life can be right whose faith is wrong. A man's *life* can only be right when his *faith* is right. It is quite evident that Hinduism—the religion professed by a large majority of our East Indian Immigrants—is not true, and cannot be true, and therefore their *life* cannot be right. It is a religion which cannot be improved. It is corrupt to the very core. Its essential principles are founded in error.

2. Speaking of Romanism, Cardinal Manning has said, “The Catholic Church is either THE MASTERPIECE OF SATAN or the kingdom of the Son of God ;” and Cardinal Newman also says, “A sacerdotal order is historically the essence of the Church of Rome ; if not divinely appointed, it is DOCTRINALLY THE ESSENCE OF ANTICHRIST.” Commenting on these weighty words of these two Romish lights, Mr. Grattan Guinness remarks :—

“I accept it. Conscience constrains me. History compels me. The awful past rises before me. I see the great apostasy ; I see the desolation of Christendom ; I see the smoking

ruins ; I see the reign of monsters ; I see their long succession ; I hear their insufferable blasphemies ; I see their abominable lives ; I see them worshipped by blinded generations, bestowing hollow benedictions, bartering lying indulgencies, creating a paganized Christianity. I see their liveried slaves, their shaven priests, their celibate confessors. I see the infamous confessional, the ruined women, the murdered innocents. I hear the lying absolutions, the dying groans. I hear the cries of the victims ; I hear the anathemas, the curses, the thunders of the interdicts. I see the racks, the dungeons, the stakes. I see it all : and in the name of the ruin it has wrought in the Church and in the world ; in the name of the Truth it has denied, the Temple it has defiled, the God it has blasphemed, the souls it has destroyed ; in the name of the millions it has deluded, the millions it has slaughtered, the millions it has damned ; with holy confessors, with noble Reformers, with innumerable martyrs, with the saints of ages, I denounce it as the masterpiece of Satan, as the body and soul and essence of Antichrist."

In like manner, of Hinduism it may truly be said that "it is a personification of evil, a superstition so cruel, so atrocious, and so diabolical, which has reigned over the millions of Hindustan. Satan seems to have used all his ingenuity, his malice, and his gigantic power, to create a system which would represent all his own attributes upon the earth, render its votaries as much like his angels as possible, and make Hindustan an image of the infernal regions. No one can imagine the mountains of difficulty which (not only in India, but in the very Colony) oppose the progress of the truth. This system—venerable for its antiquity, imposing in its ritual and its ceremonies, boasting of its sages, philosophers, its heroes and its martyrs ; enshrined in Vedas, Shastras, and Puranas ; renowned for the splendour of its temples, the grandeur of its festivals, and the exploits of its deities ; binding its hundreds of millions together by the chains of caste, as with fetters of iron ; and sending forth upon the whole world, from its bulwarks and its strongholds, a scowl of defiance." Such is the nature of Hinduism, with which Christian missionaries have to contend.

3. There is no denying the fact that polytheism, and the

intrigues, criminal amours, quarrels, and stratagems of the gods worshipped by the millions, have produced the most fatal effects on the minds and hearts of the Hindus as a nation. In the light of these facts, "can we at all expect a people to be better than the gods they worship and the religion they profess?" | Can a Hindu's life be right when his *faith* is wrong? And yet there have been writers (professedly Christian writers) who, having viewed the virtues and the national features of the Hindu character, all in connection with the different religious duties and observances, have described them as "the innocent Hindus." A careful reading and study of the several Hindu religious works—the standard authorities of the nation—would lead the student or reader to the necessary conclusion, that polytheism as it now exists in India was not the original or indigenous form of worship observed by the earliest or first settlers in that land, which was one of the earliest inhabited portions of our earth. Monotheism was the religion of the various tribes of the Scythic or Tararya (Draudya) race who first found themselves in Upper India, or Arya-vratta. These were all of Shemitic family or descent. When these were afterwards driven from their original home in Arya-vratta more towards the south, they still adhered to monotheism, as is evident from their various existing writings, written many centuries before the Christian era. TIRU VALHLHUVAR, for instance, says, "In all worlds the eternal God is Chief." And SIVA-VAKKYAR, "There is but ONE in all the world, none else. That ONE is GOD, the LORD of all that is; He never had beginning, never hath an end." When the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans found their way into Upper India, they brought with them the religion which is now known by the name of HINDUISM. The Aryan races have always been prone towards polytheism and idolatry, whilst the Shemitic race has always tended toward monotheism, which is as pure as, and more philosophical than, the monotheism taught and professed by their neighbours the Muhammedans, and which, correctly or incorrectly, came to be known as the "Brahmanical philosophy" in later years. The now existing religion was forced upon the first occupants of the land and their descendants.

Just as the different Moghul, Afghan, and other Muhammedan invaders, with sword in one hand and Al-Kuran in the other, forced Muhammedanism upon the several vanquished inimical tribes of Hindustan, so Aryanism (Hinduism, emphatically the idolatry and polytheism of the Aryas) was forced *nolens volens* upon the original settlers and their descendants (the various Scythian hordes who at a remote period first occupied Bharata-Varsha, or Arya-vratta), and on account of opposition on their part, were driven more towards the south of India, which is still called by the intelligent and educated classes of Southern Hindus, SHAMA-DESAM or RAJYA, the land or kingdom of Shem, thus laying a claim to their Shemitic origin. *Hinduism* and *Muhammedanism* are now the two principal religions of India, and may be styled "the national religions" of the people; and the same are professed by our fellow-colonists, the East Indian Immigrants, though their children born unto them in the Colony care not much for either.

4. The teachers of this abominable system of religion are the avaricious BRAHMANS, from whose pernicious and baneful influence, however, the large number of East Indian population in the Colony are free. It is rather fortunate for them that they are so. The Brahmans are the BISHOPS of the Hindu (heathen) population, and PRIMATES of all or the whole of India; and they, as a rule, generally travel in great state and pomp by night, claiming veneration or adoration from the people everywhere they go. A Brahman Swamalu (Swamiyar or Guru) or Hindu Bishop is well and liberally supported by his credulous disciples or adherents. A hundred pagodas daily, or \$176.50 (£36, 15s. 5d.), or nearly \$67,200 (£14,000) per annum, is about the income of some of these worthies. One of the late Rajahs of Tanjore (my native town) used to give his Guru or Bishop, when he honoured His Majesty with a visit, 250 pagodas, or \$441.25 (£91, 18s. 6½d.) per diem. The inferior priests and Bishops of the Hindu nation in like manner get pretty well paid or supported by the people who require their services. Like hungry dogs, they are always on the look-out for festival seasons to reap their reward. The following Hindi couplet, the purport of which is pretty well

understood by our Immigrants, is applicable to the so-called "Coolie Parsons" in the Colony:—

*"Ayê Kanâgat phûllê Kâs,
Bâhman baite chûlthe pâs,"*

i.e. The time for performing the ceremony in honour of deceased ancestors has arrived, the Kas (cas) is in flower, and the Brahmans surround the fireplace. Our Indian Immigrants, though thousands of miles away from their native home, still continue to practise their religious rites and ceremonies, and there are several of these inferior priests and Bishops among them who exert a wonderful power over them.

5. However abominable and disgusting the religion of our East Indian Immigrants may be in its teaching, tendencies, and practices,—and those who bear Christian names, professionally belonging to the different sections of the Christian Church, however much they may look down upon their heathen neighbours,—there is no denying the fact that these so-called Christians, by their life and conversation and indolent habits, bring the holy religion taught by Christ and His apostles into public disrepute. In India, as well as in the Colony, the heathen and Muhammedan Indians have looked upon these professors of the Christian religion with disdain and contempt, and have expressed in their bad English: "Christian religion, devil religion; Christian much drunk,¹ Christian much do wrong, much beat and much abuse others." Adopting the language of an old writer, I may say, "Truly it is a sight" (in the professedly Christian Colony) "to behold a drunken Christian, and a sober Indian; a temperate Indian, and a Christian given up to his appetite; an Indian that is just and square in his dealings, and a Christian that is over-reaching and exorbitant; a laborious Indian, and an idle Christian, as if he were born only to fold his hands. Oh, what a sad thing it is for Christians to come short of Indians, even in moralities; come short of those who

¹ In every one of the three principal systems of religion—Bouddhism, Hinduism, and Muhammedanism—drink is entirely discouraged. The Europeans found India sober, and they have made it drunken. A very humiliating fact to be mentioned.

themselves believe to come short of heaven." In former days the Tazzia procession used to be a season of rejoicing among the Immigrants on every sugar estate in the Colony, and a time when hostility was shown to each other, and often ending in bloodshed. Now we are on the march towards Christianity. Whilst through the instrumentality of Christian missionaries the coolies in different parts of the Colony are ceasing to worship a wooden temple, the black Creole Christian lads are taking out the Tazzias in procession instead of the coolies. The best and surest way to convert Hindus and Muhammedans to Christianity is to show them a Christian life. This is the best way to preach the Christian religion—to be a Christian. Instead of opening the New Testament all the time before the Hindu, open your own heart, your feeling, your own lives, and let the Hindu and Muhammedan read Christianity in them, and that is the best way to preach Christianity.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BRAHMAN TEACHERS.

1. I HAVE already said that the whole daily life of a modern orthodox heathen Hindu is bound up with his religion and caste. He dares not abandon his ancestral faith for that of a foreign people, lest the curse of heaven descend upon his head, nor exchange his caste for that of another. He may, when he leaves his home for a distant part of the world, to all intents and purposes become an *out-caste*, so to speak,—be he a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Shudra,—and mix with other peoples. He does not lose caste (as we sometimes think he does), but only keeps it in abeyance till time and circumstances call for a full manifestation or evidence of it. The Brahmanical religious laws or rituals make some provision for this.

The following extract from an American paper will illustrate this fact :—

“ One of the visitors to Philadelphia on the occasion of the opening of a Woman’s Medical Congress there was Mrs. Anandaibai Joshee, a Hindu woman physician. Mrs. Joshee is eighteen years of age, the wife of a Brahman, an employé of the Government at Serampore, India. It was supposed that she would lose caste and become unclean in crossing the sea, but in a recent letter she stated to a friend that she had as yet retained it. Arrangements were made for her so that she might prepare her own food, for, by eating from dishes that have been touched by those of a different caste, a Hindu becomes impure and loses his or her caste. She also kept her national dress. She is spoken of as a young woman of remarkably fine intellect, and as determined to devote her life to the interests of her fellow-women in India.”

All Muhammedans, Europeans, and other foreign nations, no matter what their position in society, found in India, are looked

upon by the lordly Brahmans as An-Aryans or out-castes, despicable Mlechchas; and the Muhammedan in his turn looks upon the Brahmans and Hindus as the filth and the off-scouring of all things, and calls them Kaffirs on account of their abominable system of idolatry. And who are these Muhammedans in the Bengal and other Presidencies of India? For the most part they are the different tribes of people found in India with a skin deep of Hinduism in them. The influence of foreign Muhammedan rulers, who carried everything before them among these people by the sword, was such that thousands, chiefly of the lower classes of Hindus, readily accepted the formula of the impostor Prophet's creed, as being agreeable to them, and with it the riddance of caste, the institution of the country, and became elevated in the social scale among the Muhammedans as a consequence or a necessary accompaniment of their adoption of Islam; and they have stuck to that faith to the present day. Muhammedanism, like Christianity, countenances no caste prejudices, whatever else a professedly Christian Government in India may do in opposition to the Christian teaching the people get from the missionaries of the different Protestant Societies. Among the Muhammedans in India and elsewhere, all ranks and orders so run into each other and blend imperceptibly together, that it becomes impossible to separate them into sharply-defined strata, or to say where the upper ends and the middle or lower begins. But it is not so among the heathen Hindus; and Europeans professing the Christian religion uphold the Hindus in this respect, and thus encourage strong caste feelings on their part, and alienation from each other.

2. The arrogant Pharisees of India (generally called Choubehs, Pandits, Shastris, on account of their being well versed in the Vedas and Shastras) are an important and influential class of people, whose example in everything to a very great extent determines the conduct of the other classes of Hindus. These are universally known as BRAHMANS. The very term at once points to the Hindu system of religion, and shows that the Brahmans as a class are beings of the first order or caste of the Hindu nation, properly charged with the duty of reading

and expounding the Shastras and Vedas, and conducting the religious ceremonies they enjoin. Though the word is derived from *Vrih*, or *Brih*—to increase, to expand, to become great—the true English definition of Brahman is “KNOWN OF GOD,” “his inheritance or possession is God ;” hence the arrogance and fancied superiority on his part. He is the first of all human beings ; he has no superior. Hence in Southern India the following proverb is in daily use, with a double meaning attached to it : “ *Pappukku muppu illei*,” that is, The Brahman has no earthly superior ; and in a Roman Catholic usage, the Papa (a Pope) has no earthly superior. Knowing something of the character and pretended sanctity of the Brahmans as a people, and judging from various conversations with intelligent native Christians of good social positions in India, I have been led to the conviction that the Sanskrit Aryans or Brahmans, who immediately followed the various Scythian hordes in Upper India, were not unacquainted with the history of the forty years’ travels of Israel in the wilderness, and other particulars connected with them as a privileged nation of God’s peculiar choice. They became thoroughly acquainted with all the facts and incidents concerning Israel mentioned in the Books of the Old Testament. If they did not, or could not, get hold of the entire copy of the Old Testament, they must have had possession of the Pentateuch and some other historic portions. They read all they wanted to know, and appropriated for their own nefarious purposes what was necessary, giving to each circumstance and incident a meaning peculiar to their own corrupt and subtle minds, and blending with monstrous fables many other facts mentioned in the sacred history, so as to baffle the succeeding generations in any attempt to discover the deception practised by them. The Israelites were as a peculiar people to be a race of priests, of nobles, of warriors ; the inheritance of Jehovah ; an holy or sanctified people, separate and distinct from other nations ; God was to dwell among them, and they alone were to be the conservators and teachers of the knowledge of God to others. These and many other similar and striking facts respecting Israel were known to these migrators who succeeded the Tararya races in

India. They looked upon themselves as a privileged caste, the only rightful recipients of the Veda—the Divine knowledge, the only repositories both of the Divine word and of the spirit of devotion or prayer, and as persons who were destined by God to reign over the nations whom they with a high hand had subjugated. The Brahmans are those most interested in keeping up the regulations of caste. They are enriched by the rules of it. A Brahman would not give up his office for a king's diadem. A king is a servant of the Brahman. The following story will show how the Brahmans work the oracle. Once upon a time a king, *Saudasa* by name, whilst hunting, met a Brahman on the road, and ordered him to get out of his way,—a thing contrary to the rules of caste. The priest civilly declined to do so, whereupon the king struck the Brahman with a whip. The priest cursed him to become a cannibal. The curse took effect immediately. He devoured several persons. The curse was, however, at last removed from him by the one who had uttered it. The case of *Saudasa* "is always quoted as an instance of a 'Kshatriya' hostile to the Brahmans, and punished for his hostility." In this way or manner the first Brahman settlers set up their claims of fancied superiority over the rest, not without opposition and strong remonstrances against their impositions, as is evident from the popular songs of Southern India; and all their descendants since have in like manner claimed veneration, adoration, and allegiance on the part of the people amongst whom they dwell. And just as in the days of King Ahab the idolatrous priests became a numerous and important caste (1 Kings xviii. 19), living under the patronage of royalty, and fed at the royal table, so the Brahmans, who are the priests of the nation in India, have formed themselves into a distinct and important caste, to be venerated and adored by all other castes below their own. Among some of the earliest works in use among the Southern Hindus, we learn that when the Brahmans set up their superiority over the other Hindus, by saying that they alone were the high caste, that others were of low caste,—that they were the white caste, that all others were the black caste,—the Draudyan writers showed that the Brahmans' declaration

was a mere sound,—an expression without meaning or force, which nobody would believe,—and that the four castes, the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Shudras, were all equal to each other, and that there was no difference to be perceived between them. When a criminal was brought before the king, no matter to what caste so called he belonged, he was to be either put to death, or disgraced, or some other punishment appointed to him; no difference was to be made on account of his caste or superiority over the rest. There was no real or actual difference existing between the members of the four castes: the difference was only in name. The following stanza from CABILAR'S *Agaval* clearly shows the contemptuous way in which the Draudya or Tamil nation treated the Brahmanical priestism, and the caste and idolatry in close connection with it:—

“ O Brahmans, list to me !
 In all this blessed land [*Shamades*]
 There is but one great caste,
 One tribe and brotherhood.
 One God doth dwell above, [not two or more]
 And He has made us one
 In birth and frame and tongue.”
 “ Are the births and castes you fondly own
 The event of Nature's growth alone,
 Or a scheme designed and finished by you ? ”

3. Whatever might have been the state of Indian society when these Sanskrit-speaking Aryans or Brahmans first found their way into Arya-vratta, or Upper India, between 4000 and 5000 years ago, and however exaggerated the statements in the Puranic writings, it was only about the seventh century of the Christian era that the influence of Sanskrit teaching made itself felt in the peninsula of India, and the various nations inhabiting it became Aryanized or Brahmanized. This has so far prevailed, that, for all ordinary purposes, the dwellers in southern portions of India are now loosely classed among the Aryan population, and unquestionably have been susceptible of the religious influence of the Aryan religion as represented by the modern teaching of the Brahmans. These Brahman

intruders laboured hard to deprive the Tamilians of their Scriptures and religion, which was monotheistic in its best and purest sense, without the ruder rites and materialistic beliefs now seen everywhere, and to introduce the mythology and idol-worship of which we hear so much in descriptions of Hindustan. They succeeded in substituting their fables and follies for the ancient faith and practice of the population. When they found that they could not eradicate, they did their utmost to adapt, pervert, interpolate, and mutilate the indigenous writings. Books in present circulation are disfigured by inconsistencies which betray the torturing treatment they have undergone at the hands of these Brahmanists. The Muhammedans, who poured into the country some centuries after, in like manner, without attempting to alter or modify, only strove to snatch, tear up, and burn all their literary and scriptural works of great merit. The Tamilians, however, have kept alive their own literature and faith, not by organized means of formal education, but by quiet transcription and constant repetition, and in immortal proverbs. The Muhammedans are merchants and bankers, and the Brahmans high in social position and influence; but they are a minority of the population of Southern India.

4. The Brahmans compose the sacred tribe (answering to that of Levi among the Israelites), which supplies at once the priests, the judges, the teachers, and the philosophers of the Hindu nation. In some of the Hindu writings it is definitely stated that Brahma created the Brahman and the Cow at the same time, before the other castes were brought into being: the Brahman to read the Vedas, and the Cow to afford him milk (*ghee*, clarified butter) for the burnt-offering. The Brahman and the Cow, therefore, hold a prominent place in the uppermost thoughts of the Hindu. As said above, the Brahman claims veneration or adoration from his dupes, and is by them regarded and worshipped as god. The following is the doctrine taught in a Sanskrit Sloka, which every Hindu ought to know:—"The world is subject to the gods; the gods are subject to the Mantras; the Mantras are subject to the Brahmans; and the Brahmans therefore are gods" whom men

must worship. Wherever and in whatever condition or state a Brahman may be found, he is an object of worship. He is the SWAMIE of the nation. He is, according to St. Paul, one "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped : so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple, . . . showing himself that he is God" (2 Thess. ii. 4). His word is law, and cannot be altered or set aside. The reader will find on pp. 297, 298 of my *Colony of British Guyana*, an incident mentioned of a philosophical Brahman declaring himself to be the "Almighty" to a Christian missionary in Bengal. "A Brahman, whether learned or unlearned, is a mighty divinity, just as fire is a mighty divinity, whether consecrated or unconsecrated." Brahmans, however, are not necessarily priests : they are rather the patrons and employers of priests. A title of Brahman in Southern India is ANDANAR, in which there is a vein of satire against the Brahmans and their gods.

5. The lineage *batnan bad batnan*—generation after generation—of the Brahmans is unquestioned throughout India, though it is obvious from many of the credible or reliable legends, that Brahmans and Kshatriyas were originally one, and their distinction was one of office and occupation. The Brahmans of the present day are divided into an endless number of distinct castes, separated from each other by insurmountable barriers, with numerous sub-divisions belonging to each caste, so that they refuse to intermarry and eat with each other. Their caste is no longer that which is described in the Shastras. Yet with all these differences and distinctions amongst themselves, they as a class "constitute the great central body, around which all other classes and orders of beings revolve like satellites." A man would sooner break or violate any of the laws of God than violate any of the laws of a Brahman, so strict in obedience are the people who have been Hinduized by being initiated into the religious mysteries of Brahmanism, or Hinduism, as the religion is called. The Bouddhists, who differ from the Brahmanists, never own any distinctions of caste. In fact they deny its existence *in toto*. Their priests, called *Jatis*, are admitted from all castes, and are dressed like

the Brahmins. In the *Vasala Sutta* 27, the Bouddhist teaching on this subject is :—

“ Not by birth does one become low caste,
Not by birth does one become a Brahman ;
By his actions alone one becomes low caste,
By his actions alone one becomes a Brahman.”

The same idea occurs in the *Mahabharata*, iii. 14,075, 17,392. According to a Jatimala (pedigree of caste) of the Brahmins, we have in Hindustan—(1) KANYAKUBJA, with four social and political sub-divisions ; (2) SARASVAT, with ten sub-divisions ; (3) GAUR, with six ; (4) TAILANGA, six ; (5) KARNATTA, two ; (6) MAHARASHTRA, eight ; and (7) GURJARA, with eighty-four social and political sub-divisions. The first of these, Kanyakubja, or Kanauj, is again divided into 156 tribes or castes, of which 100 are called VARENDRA, and 56 RADHA or RARH. In addition to these seven, there are two other classes, said to have been made *Brahmins* by Vyasa, the ŚAKADWIPI and GAYALI. All these Brahmanical divisions and sub-divisions may be properly classified into two: the Brahmins of the *Northern division*, called GAUDA, and the Brahmins of the *Southern division*, called DRAUDYA, of which the Tamil-speaking Brahmins are the leaders of all the rest belonging to this class of people in India. The Brahmins, besides being socially and politically divided into various castes or tribes, are as a religious body opposed to each other, and form themselves into two schools or divisions called the Vaishnava sect and the Shaiva sect. Those belonging to the Shiva bhakti affirm that the Supreme, the invisible Brahm or Parabrahm, appeared or became embodied in the form of Shiva and Shakti,—the former male, the latter female,—and made all things as well as all persons, including both Vishnu and Brahma ; and contend that these and all other beings shall finally be absorbed into the Divine essence from whence they have proceeded. The largest number of Brahmins and Hindus belong to this sect. Those belonging to the Vishnu bhakti (whose literature is neither so extensive nor respectable as that of the Shaivas) contend for the supremacy of Vishnu, and his superiority to

Shiva: they attribute the production of Brahma, the creator, and Shiva, held by them to be the destroyer, to Vishnu as the first great cause, and declare that all things have proceeded from him, and to him they will return. The Vishnuvas, or Vaishnavas, worship Vishnu in one or other of his manifestations, especially as Ramchandra or as Krishna. The Shaiva, or Shiva bhaktas, are in the south of India called Lingadhâris, and Lingavants, and wear a small representation of the linga (the pallas, as the type of Shiva, and as worshipped in all parts of India) in a case round the neck or on one arm. We have in this Colony a fair representation of both these sects. Nearly one-third of the Hindus from the Calcutta or Bengal Presidency, principally of the lower orders of Bengal, and a few from the Madras Presidency also, belong to the Vaishnava sect, and the rest of the Immigrants belong to the Shiva or Shaiva sect.

6. As teachers, or Gurus, they exert a pernicious and powerful influence over the people, not only in India, but in the very Colony itself, where we have a few who call themselves Brahmans, but of very inferior caste. They undermine every effort put forth by the Christian missionary in a direct, steady, and sure manner, and prejudice the minds of the people against him, so that they scarcely show a disposition to hear what he has to say to them for their own good. The Hindu idea is that whatever may be the faults and failings of the Brahman, or of a man who claims to be a Brahman, he should never be left to starve or be in want. He must be fed and clothed, and indulged in his demands. Food must be distributed to him by the very poorest, and this is called *Brahmana bhojana*; as he is the representative of the Deity, to whom adoration is due, very frequently an oath is made and taken while holding or clasping the feet of a holy Brahman, and this is called *Brahmanadiṇya*; and sometimes a Brahman may be very poor, and have to be entertained as a menial in a Brahman family in India, or as a guest in one of the houses of the Immigrants in the Colony, and he is then called *Brahmanajan*.

7. There are some Immigrants in the Colony who have

looked upon the few so-called Brahmans amongst them as persons incapable of committing sin : they being reckoned and worshipped as gods. On one occasion, not many months ago, a few of my hearers advanced this strange doctrine in my presence. I said to them, "I am quite surprised to hear that any of you should believe, or think, that there are men in this world who have never committed sin. You refer to the Brahmans as instances of this supposed or presumed statement. This statement of yours is quite against your own religion, or why do you offer up sacrifices and oblations to your deities, if you can reach heaven by meritorious works, or if you consider yourselves sinless and holy beings? But, now, let me just ask you one question. Is there any here present who can say that he has never committed sin?—I mean such and such sins" (and here I repeated the moral law of the Ten Commandments). "If there is any among you who can say that he has never broken any of these Commandments, let him hold up his hand." I looked around, but there was none who could do it; so I said, "Well, then, you all acknowledge that you are sinners. Well," I continued, "neither can I lift up my hand; I am a sinner like you. But I know One who came into this world, and lived in this world, but *never committed sin*, even the Lord Jesus; and He was not only *sinless*, but came into this world to take away sin, and to save all that come to Him, be he a Brahman or the poor beggar. I am here for the very purpose of making Him known to you, that you might not die in your sins, but live. I want you to know that God is no respecter of persons. In His sight the lordly Brahman and the out-caste Tchandala are both alike sinners, and are of precisely the same account. The soul of the one is as precious as that of the other; in the salvation of either indiscriminately the Lord Jesus Christ sees of the travail of His soul, and is satisfied therewith." This plain truth, no doubt, opened the eyes of those who had believed in the sanctity and sinlessness of Brahmans.

8. The Brahmans, as a rule, are a sharp, shrewd people. "Be a Brahman, then you will know or understand a Brahman," is an everyday saying in my native district. The

general opinion in India has been that it is impossible to deceive a Brahman: "a Brahman will know a Brahman at a glance." The following incident will, however, show how Brahmans in Southern India were outwitted by an Italian Jesuit missionary, Robert de Nobili, in the early part of the fourteenth century of the Christian era. Assuming the appearance, garb, and name of a Brahman, come from a distant country, he besmeared his face, imitated the austerities of Brahmanical penitents, and succeeded in persuading the most credulous of the people that he was truly of the Divine stock of their priesthood. To silence those who had looked upon him as an impostor, he produced an old dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the Devanagari, a deed showing that the Brahmans of Rome were of much older date than those of India, and the Jesuits of Rome descended in a direct line from Brahma himself. It is narrated by one of his own order, Father Jouvenci, that upon the smoky parchment being questioned by one of the Hindus, Nobili declared, *upon oath* before an assembly of the Brahmans of Madura, that he derived, really and truly, his origin from the God Brahma himself. By such subterfuge he managed to gain over to his system twelve eminent Brahmans; and multitudes by their instrumentality were influenced to adhere to his instructions.

9. In India, if you convert one of the high caste Brahmans, you convert ten of the lower orders, because, as the Indian saying is, "If you pour water upon the head, you wet the whole body." So far as the outward and visible Church is concerned, the accession of the Brahmans to Christianity might be a far more important event than that of the other castes of Hindus; but in the general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, the names are of equal value in the muster roll. It is a strong proof how much carnality enters even into our spiritual things, that this most unquestionable truth is not more fully recognised. The Aryans and Non-Aryans, the bond and free, are all equal before God. When we turn to 1 Cor. i. 26-31, we hear St. Paul proclaiming, "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble,

are called : but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise ; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty ; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are : that no flesh should glory in His presence. But of Him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption : that, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."

CHAPTER VII.

GURUS OR SPIRITUAL TEACHERS AND THEIR DUTIES.

1. AMONG the Tamilians of Southern India there has existed for centuries a religious opinion to the effect that God can do without man, but man cannot do without God, and without a temple in which to worship Him, and without a priest to offer up sacrifices in the temple ; and hence the following proverbial sentence in use among them : “ *Dēvan illā manidān illei : Kōvil illā Devānum Achāryanum illei ; Pali illā Pidamum illei*,”—literally, “There is no man without a god ; no temple without its god and priest ; and no sacrifice without its altar on which to offer it ;” also another old saying to the effect, “Where there is a temple, there God appears, and the inhabitants prosper,” or, “A man should not live where there is no temple.” Another proverbial saying peculiar to the Tamil nation is, “HE WHO KNOWS HIMSELF WILL KNOW GOD.” The wisdom of the East speaks in proverbs. This proverb I have here given is as old as the earliest writings of the Old Testament—as ancient as the mountains. The most useful and comprehensive precept in the whole moral system, “KNOW THYSELF,”—by some ascribed to Thorles, the Milesian, the prince of the philosophers, and contemporary with Josiah, king of Judah, B.C. 641,—had been pioneered by the South Indian sage, whoever he or she might have been. It is a religious maxim full of deep meaning and wisdom, and shows the truth taught in the other proverbial sentences above quoted in regard to the tendency in man to seek and inquire after God. This feeling, this attraction towards God, exists not only in the Hindus throughout India, but in every man throughout the world. Man cannot cease from seeking and inquiring after God. At no time and in no place have men been found without religion, without

God. Says PLUTARCH, "You may see states without walls, without laws, without coins, without writing; but a people without a God, without prayer, without religious exercises and sacrifices, has no man seen." And ROBESPIERRE once said, "If there were no God, we should have to invent one." And in like manner AVVEY (a female moralist and poetess), for whom the Tamilians entertain the highest respect, has said, "*Alayam tozhuvathu sâlavam nanru*,"—that is, Man derives the greatest good (benefit) by worshipping God in the temple. Hence every Hindu, whether rich or poor, feels a desire to have a temple in which to worship God. Though the Indian Immigrants are some seventeen thousand miles away from their home—their native land,—we see them in the Colony still cherishing the same desire to have temples of their own in which to have their favourite idols and worship them. There are several Alayas, or *Swami* houses, all over the Colony, in which their own priests officiate or offer up pujahs. The Gurus or Hindu teachers, therefore, form an important class among our Immigrants, and demand a passing notice in respect to their general character.

2. The temples, or Alayas, usually of stone or brick, whether distinguished for the elegance of their architecture or not, erected by the devout followers of "gods many and lords many," are constructed not as places of meeting like Christian sanctuaries for the people, but as residences or houses of their dumb idols of wood and stone. We have abundant references to this fact in the Old Testament Scriptures (see 1 Sam. v. 2; 2 Kings x. 21, 27, etc.). By the very Jews themselves the tabernacle in the wilderness, and then afterwards the temple at Jerusalem, was regarded as the dwelling-place of Jehovah, and not a place of accommodation for the people generally. The dimensions of the tabernacle or temple were not so extensive or imposing as is commonly supposed by some writers. The people were not permitted to enter into the interior of either place to worship Jehovah, but they offered up their prayers and sacrifices in the front of the building, or in the outer quadrangle. Prominent hills, elevated places, or artificial mounds were the sites usually selected by the heathen nations

upon which to erect their temples, so that they could be seen from a distance ; and the Hindus are not a whit behind in this respect. They have their *medeis*, or *modus*—elevated places, or artificial miniature hills—on which they erect their temples and *Swami* houses. The pagoda or temple in the island of Elephanta, near Bombay, for instance, has been hewn by the hands of man out of a solid rock, about half way up a high mountain, so that it can be seen from a long distance by the pilgrims and other worshippers, and formed into a spacious area nearly 120 feet square. In order to support the roof of the temple and the weight of the mountain that lies above it, a number of massy pillars have been cut out of the same rock at such regular distances as, on the first entrance, presents an appearance of great beauty and strength. Much of the inside is covered with human figures, in high relief, of gigantic size as well as singular forms, and distinguished by a variety of symbols, representing, it is probable, the attributes of the deities whom they worshipped, or the actions of the heroes whom they admired. The Hindus, like all other heathen nations, have entertained the idea that high hills and elevated places were much nearer heaven (*Asman* or *Paralok*), and therefore the most favourable places for religious purposes. The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and afterwards the Hebrews as a nation, entertained some such ideas when they worshipped Jehovah upon the tops of the mountains and on “high places,” and the Bible student will remember that the site chosen for the erection of the magnificent temple of Solomon was a high, steep eminence, the natural summit of which did not offer a sufficiently level space, and inaccessible on three sides—the east, south, and west ; and the inequalities of the ground therefore had to be filled up with walls, vaulted passages, and cisterns. From whatever side the pilgrim approached the city, “the mountain of Jehovah,” “the house of the God of Jacob,” the first sight and impression of the temple, which rose far above all other structures, glittering in the sunlight, must have been solemn and deep. Every devout Jew prayed toward this sacred building as toward Jehovah’s special habitation, His throne upon the earth.

3. A Hindu temple is not constructed like a Christian sanctuary, with the necessary accommodation for worshippers who meet regularly to celebrate the praises of the Deity in the strains of sacred poetry, and to make the voice of prayer and confession heard within its hallowed walls. It is not intended to accommodate a crowd of worshippers within its walls. Its worshippers stand outside in an area opposite the door, which is the only entrance belonging to the building. The priest, the representative of the people, is the only person who enters the temple through that door in order to perform the duties of his office in the presence of the idol, which stands at the lower end of the door, and so placed that the worshippers from outside might have a full view of, and fall down before, it. There is no window to a Hindu temple to let in light or admit air. The room, including the small space which is called the residence of the idol (*Sivami stalam*), before which burns a small oil lamp, and the space sufficiently spacious for the temple utensils, the offerings, and the officiating priest to stir or move about, is always dark and awe-inspiring. I have visited a few of the huts or places of worship called temples, built in primitive style by the coolies on some of the estates, and found them dismal enough, though the floors were pretty clean. These hut-temples are considered so sacred by the coolies, on account of the visible presence of the deity—the idol—they worship, that no unclean person can enter any of them without the preparatory ablutions being performed: no sandals or boots are allowed to be worn by the officiating priest or visitor whilst in the presence of the deity within the temple. (The following scriptures will throw some light upon this: Exod. iii. 5, xix. 12; Joshua v. 15; Acts vii. 33.) Whatever impurity or uncleanness may be found inside or outside the temple is quickly removed by besmearing the floor with a solution of cow-dung; and indeed no Hindu would go out of his house in a morning till the doorway has been rubbed with cow-dung.

4. In ancient times most of the wealth of the Hindu kings and other noblemen was lavished on erecting gaudy temples and supporting splendid festivals in honour of the gods

worshipped by them. The modern Hindus, as a nation, are not so extravagant as their forefathers. Yet temples of all sizes and descriptions are built, especially in Southern India. When a suitable site is chosen, and the foundation stone is about to be laid, a small place is dug in the earth about a cubit square, into which water is poured, and a brick placed in the hole with this prayer addressed to the brick: "As long as the earth and mountains remain, so do thou remain immoveable." Shiva, Vishnu, Ganesha, Surya, Durga, and other gods and goddesses, celestial and terrestrial, are invoked, and offerings and sacrifices presented, so that the lives of persons engaged in building the temples might be spared from all accidents to complete them, and that the builders might have a good and profitable time during the time of their erection. When the temples are completed they are dedicated with numerous ceremonies to their favourite deities above mentioned. Brahma, one of the Hindu Triad (who must not, however, be confounded with Brahmā or Parabrahmā, whom all allow to be supreme) is the only god whose worship was abolished and discontinued to the present day, to whom no temple is erected or dedicated, for reasons which I shall mention in a future chapter.¹

5. In connection with Hindu or heathen temples, I may mention the "HIGH PLACES" and "GROVES," to which numerous references are made in the Old Testament Scriptures. Before the temple was erected, the "High Places" and "Groves" were frequently resorted to as harmless places for the worship of Jehovah, and indeed the Groves were God's first temple (Gen. xxi. 33), and seemed naturally fitted for such purposes. Under the Judges they appear to have been tolerated in some exceptional cases; and Samuel offered sacrifices in several places where the Ark was not present. Even in David's time the people of Israel sacrificed to the Lord at Shiloh, Jerusalem, and Gibeon. The heathen, however, regarded the different "Groves" as sacred to different gods, and the "High Places" as inseparably linked to idolatry; and hence this was one reason why Jehovah required the festivals and sacrifices of the Israelites to be centred at His temple in

¹ See Chapter IX. 4.

Jerusalem; that the people of the living and only true God might be delivered from the temptations of the "Groves," and witness as one man against idolatry. These "High Places" and "Groves" were, however, much frequented in the kingdom of Israel, and on these hills and elevated places they often adored idols and committed a thousand abominations which were hateful to God. These Bamoth (plural of Bamah, *Hebrew*) or *High Places* became in course of time places of Bêni (*Tamil*), to be dreaded and avoided on account of the fearful idolatrous rites practised thereon without any let or hindrance.

6. The Guru or Achâryahship, though strictly a Brahmanical order, is not now wholly confined to the Brahmins. They have been rivalled in points of devotion by men of other castes, who set up as *Gurus*, or spiritual guides or teachers, and acquire considerable influence with their followers. We learn from our Bible that in the patriarchal times the head of the family was both supreme ruler and priest to his own household and to the clan formed of his descendants. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Job, Heber the Kenite, Jonadab the son of Rechab, may be said to have been the *Sheikhs* (chiefs and priests) of their several clans. And before the Law was given the worship of God was not restricted to places or persons; the head of each family seems to have officiated as its priest (such, probably, were the *Coh'nim*, priests, mentioned in Exod. xix. 22). It is a remarkable fact that this has been the practice or usage among the Hindus of Southern India from time immemorial. The Brahman Gurus there are looked upon as "HIGH-PRIESTS" of the Hindu nation, whose services are in demand only by the aristocracy, and on "high" or special occasions, for which they are paid handsomely; but every caste among the Hindus of Southern India has its own Guru or Achâryah, and every family or tribe its own household god, *Tarparan* or *Turpanan* (with which compare the Hebrew word *Teraphim*, Judg. xvii. 5),—an image in human form, graven of wood or stone,—and its own family Guru or priest. "This privilege is often hereditary in particular families, who suffer no intrusion from other Brahmins in their villages or districts; and these rights are recognised and protected by law." In 1 Kings xii. 31 we

read that Jeroboam the son of Nebat, being an idolater, "made a house of high places, and made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi;" so there are temples erected in India by the people in opposition to the orthodox party, and oblations made and sacrifices offered by priests of the lowest order of the people, who are therefore naturally regarded with contempt by the Brahmans and by the other high caste Gurus. All marriage ceremonies and other religious duties are expected to be performed by these Gurus belonging to the different castes. I may, however, say here, that in India all the principal temples resorted to by the wealthy or the aristocracy have Brahman Gurus attached to them, who are appointed by the Government or local managers.

7. The *Tantra-Sara*, describing the qualifications of a priest, says that a Guru must not be subject to his passions, so as to become an adulterer, a thief, etc.; he must be born of a good (Hindu) family; possess suavity of manners; be attentive to religious duties; honourable in the eyes of others; always keep his body pure; be ready in religious ceremonies; faithful in the discharge of the duties of his caste; wise, able to keep in order as well as to cherish his disciples; learned or well versed in the *Shastras*, *Vedas*, etc. A person who is a glutton, who has the *kushit* (leprosy), is blind of one or both eyes; very small in stature, or who has whitlows; whose teeth stand out; who is noisy and talkative; subject to his wife, or whose toes or fingers are unnaturally unequal, or of an improper number; an asthmatic person, or in other respects diseased, cannot become a Guru or priest. But too often these qualifications and disqualifications of a Guru are ignored or set aside by the lower orders of the Hindus.

8. Every Hindu who has received the initiating incantation (the principal thing in this incantation being the name of some god who becomes his *ishtdev* — chosen deity) may become the family or caste Guru or spiritual guide, and remain in that office all his lifetime, whatever may be his shortcomings or imperfections, and transmit that office to his eldest son if alive at his death, if not, to the second son, thus making it hereditary. The business connected with this

sacred office is very profitable to the holder of it, who becomes rich.

9. The Guru is looked upon as the *father* of the people, and especially of his disciples, by whom he is called *Eiyar*, *Eiyan*, *Appah*, *Pita*, *Dharmpita*; and the scholars or disciples are considered his *own children*, and on his death these children or disciples are looked upon as *orphans*. It was in this sense that Christ called His disciples *children*, *beloved children* (John xiii. 33, xiv. 18): His removal from them by death would not, however, leave them *fatherless* (*orphans*), or without a Teacher.¹ According to the teaching of the Hindus, the pupil must worship his father and mother, as those who gave him birth, but he must honour his Guru in a superior degree, as he who rescues him from the path of sin, and places him in the way of holiness; the Guru is, in fact, the disciple's father, mother, and god: if even Shiva be offended with a disciple, his Guru is able to deliver him. If the disciple meet his Guru at any time, he must prostrate himself at his feet and receive his blessing. His death is a great calamity to the disciples. We have several such Gurus in the Colony, without whose presence and advice nothing can be done by the people. Wherever or whenever there is a marriage feast or ceremony, or any other religious rite

¹ The black Creoles of the Colony have rather a novel idea or meaning attached to the word "orphan," as the following extract from the *Argosy* of October 15, 1887, will show:—"In the Police Court lately, two men appeared as accuser and accused, the offence which had brought them into Court being one of the rarest on record. 'What is the matter?' said the magistrate. 'Your Worship,' said the complainant, 'he called me an orphan, and I aint going to stand it.' 'An orphan!' said the magistrate; 'why, what harm in calling you that? Many men are orphans; I am an orphan myself.' The complainant shook his head, as much as to say that he could not believe this unsworn testimony, so the magistrate pressed him to explain why he had taken offence at such a simple title. 'Because, your Worship, he called me an orphan; and an orphan is a person who knows his mother, but doesn't know who was his father!'" Not until I had heard this definition of the term "orphan" did I understand the observation which a negro, known to me many years ago, used frequently to make. He would say, "Yes, I am an orphan, and I may just as well own it,"

observed, whether in town or country, the Guru is sure to be there, and expect his full share of presents (*guru-dān*) according to the people's ability and willingness to give. Some will give a piece of cloth, others from one to ten dollars. The disciple sometimes sends presents to his Guru's house. I have already referred to the avarice of Brahman Gurus, which is too well known by the great majority of our Indian coolies, yet they dare not insult or offend them, and their curse is dreaded as the worst of all evils. Penances of an endless character are imposed upon the people for all kinds of sins committed by them, and all this with a view to emptying their purse and enriching themselves. The Gurus are a set of keen-eyed business fellows, and the coolies in the Colony are literally a (*Pir* or *Guru-parast*) priest-ridden people.

10. Some two or three centuries before the Christian era, eminent men like Tiru Valhluvar, Agastya, Siva-vakkyar, and others among the Tamilians of Southern India, like the worthies of Israel, possessing inspirations of God, or, enlightened and sanctified by the Angel-Jehovah, used their tongues and pens in favour of monotheism, their national belief and worship, and against the ceremonial polytheism and idolatry introduced in their midst by the intruding Brahmanists, whom they disliked, and considered to be lying teachers among them. PAMPATTI SITTAR, in one of his poems, thus speaks of the Gurus and their teachings:—
 "There is only one true creed, well fitted to instruct and guide into excellent paths those lying teachers who set forth a false religion. Strive, O my soul! to reach the feet of the Divine Guru [the Supreme Being], who teaches what the true creed is." Similar sentiments are expressed by others, all in opposition to the teachings promulgated by the Brahman Gurus, whose idolatry they denounced in very strong terms. TAYUMANAVAR, another Tamil poet, says: "The word of the Guru is like a mountain waymark. All other words are like a game of draughts played upon a checkerless board." That is according to the poet's own comment: as to a weary traveller, whose village is still in the invisible distance, the mountain which towers by its side stands ever-

more an immoveable waymark and guide ; so the word of the satya (true) Guru is to us an infallible leader, and will surely bring us to the invisible world of heaven. All other words of the false Gurus are as profitless as would be a game of draughts upon an unchecked board. From these testimonies here given, it is very patent that in very early times there existed in Southern India true and false teachers calling themselves Gurus, and that the desire of the Scythio-Shemitic Tamilians was to keep clear of these Arya religious innovators, who introduced in their midst all the abominations and superstitions of their idolatrous worship.

11. The term Guru, adopted in all the languages of India, is derived from the root *Gree*, to make known. This word in composition is too frequently contracted or abridged into *Gur*—literally, heavy, weighty, whence, metaphorically, a person of weight and importance, of great respectability and responsibility, as an elder or parent, and especially a spiritual or religious teacher or guide, one who, under the primitive system, instructed the youth of the first three classes in the Vedas, the law of sacrifice and religious mysteries, and invested the disciple with the *punul*—the sacrificial thread. Gurus, or spiritual teachers and priests, called also Achâryah, Bôdhak, Pujari (which last is always used in India to denote heathen or idolatrous priests, while the other three terms are generally adopted by Christian missionaries as the best terms found in the language, and applied to the ministers of the gospel), are found in all parts of India, and are not confined to any particular caste, though the Brahmans are the universally but incorrectly acknowledged fountains or heads of these numerous priests. Sometimes these priests are styled SWAMYARS, a very respectful title. In poetic language they are described as “men of six occupations,” their duties being reading and learning, teaching, sacrificing, ordering things offered, bestowing alms, and receiving. There are, however, many among the different castes of Hindus who do not deserve the name of Gurus or priests, for they are most ignorant and worthless ; and yet they are not idle ; they are always busy making fresh disciples or converts to their creed

or faith. Such Hindu priests or Gurus are in the Colony generally called *Maraj*, or *Coolie Parsons*. The Muhammedan Immigrants (who are all haters of idolatry) have also their spiritual teachers and priests, who try hard to make converts of the Hindus and other natives of the Colony, in which they have been very successful. They do indeed possess a missionary spirit which is astonishing. The reader must not, however, suppose that these Gurus or priests among our Immigrants, belonging to the different sects, live happily together without religious squabbles, and without ending the whole religious quarrels or sectarian differences with a sound thrashing or beating being given to each other.

The following charge of wounding a "Coolie Parson," tried in the Colony, I extract from the late *Colonist*, dated August 1, 1883, with *Argus's* remarks upon the affair :—

"At Providence Police Court, on Monday, a coolie named Kassonkan was brought up before Mr. Thorne, charged with assaulting and wounding, with intent to do grievous bodily harm, Mamahoosen, a 'Coolie Parson,' on the 21st ult., at Pln. Great Diamond.—Complainant, who resides in Leguan, said : 'On the day in question I came from Leguan. I went to the Diamond estate to see my brother. I was sitting at the door reading. The accused, who lives at the same range, came up and ordered me away from the door, and said he did not want any Hindustani people there. Defendant abused me, and afterwards took a knife and wounded me on the back part of my head, and I fell. I was removed to the estate's hospital, where I remained until the 27th, when I was discharged. Myself and the accused had no previous quarrel.'—John Welch said : 'The day before the complainant was cut, I heard the accused challenge him to fight, and he refused. On the day in question I was called by a coolie on the estate, and I went where the complainant was, and saw him bleeding. I saw the accused with a knife in his hand. On seeing me he flung it on his bed (knife produced), and gave the complainant several blows with his fist. I assisted in taking the complainant to the manager.'—David Tross, dispenser at Great Diamond hospital, said : 'On the night in question, between eight and nine o'clock, the complainant was brought to the hospital suffering from an incised wound on the back of his head ; the wound was one inch by

half an inch deep. Complainant was bleeding very much at the time. I dressed and strapped the wound, and the complainant was kept in hospital until the 27th, when he was discharged. The wound is not quite healed.'—Two other witnesses were examined, and the accused was referred for trial at the Supreme Criminal Court to be held in November."

"If ministers of religion would only take an example by the two Coolie Parsons who were brought before Mr. Thorne for fighting with hackia sticks at Bagotville, the world would be very much calmer and quieter. These two coolies had a difference,—probably on some point of doctrine. Perhaps the one held that Ramayan winked with his right eye, while the other held that he winked with his left. At all events, they disputed; but they did not write long letters to the newspapers, or call each other names at the Synod or the Presbytery or the District meeting. They did not stop speaking with each other, and refuse to preach in each other's pulpits. They would have made, in all these respects, notoriously bad Christians; but, being heathens, they decided to settle their controversy with hackia sticks, as the best method to beat out the dirty stour—the *odium theologicum*—out of each other's garments. By and by these two men will be good friends. I mean to get a pair of hackia sticks to present to two English Churchmen I know. Two good men; but if they don't have their fight out before they get to heaven, they will give the Demerara Synod a bad name by fighting there; for the fight must come sooner or later. And then the friendship."

12. On the necessity and importance of a true Guruhood or priesthood contrasted with the lying Brahmanical teachers in his day, the first of Tamil sages, AGASTYA by name, in one of his poems has the following very remarkable passage, which gives a description of the true Guru:—

"Approach, O my soul! and worship the SELF-EXISTENT AND ETERNAL GOD, the ILLUMINATOR OF THE UNIVERSE, WHO, HAVING IN THE TWINKLING OF AN EYE CREATED THIS VAST WORLD, AND PLACED THEREON PERFECT MEN, AFTERWARDS HIMSELF APPEARED UPON IT ITS INCARNATE GURU [or, as the expression in this Tamil poem otherwise signifies, "Guru in the human form"], LIVED IN IT AS AN ASCETIC, WITHOUT FAMILY, RELATIVES, OR POMP, PRACTISED RELIGIOUS AUSTERITIES, ESTABLISHED THE SCHOOL OF HIS LOVING DISCIPLES (*Shishya*), AND FINALLY RETURNED TO THE ETERNAL ABODES OF HEAVEN."

In this passage there is evidently a reference to the Lord Jesus Christ, who left heaven, came down to earth, was born as a man, and thus became the God-Guru incarnate. It is true that the old Tamil sages had not heard of Jesus Christ as we have heard of Him, for many of them lived in the time of the patriarchs and the prophets of Israel; and yet I hesitate not in saying that the minds of these ancient heathen Tamil sages became enlightened and sanctified, as already stated, by the Angel-Jehovah, the anointed Prophet, Priest, and King to be revealed to men in the fulness of time. As the Southern Kingdom of India, under various names, was pretty well known to the Israelites in the days of King Solomon, and centuries before he was born, and as a brisk trade was carried on between Southern India and Palestine, there is some plausible reason for believing, that the learned sages or philosophers of South India, and through them the Tamil nation, became acquainted with the main truths concerning the Messiah,—the Divine Guru's advent into the world as the Saviour of mankind, mentioned in the prophetic portions of the Hebrew Scripture. The writings of many of the Tamil authors who flourished before Christ's appearance upon earth in our nature, show very clearly that they were not left without Divine light, and on some most important subjects their language is so explicit that a person familiar with the Holy Bible—the Christian Scriptures—will be able to distinguish the voice of those who hate sin and love God. We must not for a moment suppose that God never revealed Himself to men beyond the circle of Bible teaching, that there were no inspirations of God in the teachings of men like Socrates and Plato, Zoroaster and Sakyamuni, Seneca and Muhammed, Conganavar, Cabilar, Siva-vakkyar, and others. The Bible itself countenances no such idea. It contains the book of the Idumean Job (the Harischandra-Raya of Southern India). It represents Cyrus and others, men of heathen nations, as God's chosen and anointed servants. It is thought by Oriental scholars that Tiru Valhluvar, who wrote his *Kuralh* (a work of intrinsic excellence, whose sentences are counted as binding on the Tamil nation as the Ten Commandments on

the Jews), flourished between the wide compass of B.C. 300 and A.D. 800. The greater number of respectable scholars are of opinion that Tiru Valhluvar flourished about 300 or 200 years before Christ; and if this opinion be correct or tenable, then Agastya (whose words I have quoted above) was contemporary with Tiru Valhluvar, and in his poetic language alludes in a prophetic manner to Christ, who was the desire of all the nations of the earth. And if the other opinion be entertained as a more reasonable and reliable one, then the words of Agastya are a historic comment on, or a statement of, all that Jesus did when on earth. In either case the poetic language of this heathen Tamil sage has reference to Jesus Christ, who is in one person the Eternal God and the only good Guru, in opposition to all the Brahmanical Gurus or teachers who pestered the people of Southern India with their false teachings. Tayumanavar, whose name I have already mentioned, addressing the Deity, says: "I adore Thee, O Thou Fountain of all bliss, who hast come incarnate to overflow my soul with love, and to rescue my precious life, my Lord and my God!" Again, in another of his poems, speaking of the true Guru, he says: "That way is indeed the good way, which, taught by the grace of the Guru, causes our hearts to melt and leads us into heavenly bliss." These expressions of this heathen poet can be applied to Christ alone. This Guru, the Lord, the God, the Fountain of bliss, came to save us and to fill our souls with His love. In the Bhagavat Skandha, also, there is a remarkable circumstance mentioned which deserves a passing notice. Agastya, it appears, met with a virgin wife of Sivacharyar,—she having been married to him at the early age of five, and then separated from him for twenty-five years,—and told her that ere long she would, in a miraculous manner, contrary to the natural way, conceive a son, and that he would come out of her womb through or by her back; that she was to call him SANKANASIVACHARYAR; that in his infancy he would be a wonderful child, that nations would bow before him, and bring him free-offerings and gifts; and that at the age of sixteen he would travel to Kasi, and there, whilst performing the lintam, the heavens would be opened to him, and a voice

should be heard from the sky acknowledging him to be the God-Guru incarnate ; and that after that he would perform many astounding miracles to show his authority, and preach to all classes of mankind the good-will and pleasure of God ; and then, after blessing him (Agastya), he would return to heaven. This is the substance of a lengthy statement in the Bhagavat Skandha. But might not this be regarded as an allusion to the Redeemer of the world, and spoken prophetically by Agastya of Him whom the nations in all parts of the Eastern world just then expected to appear. The quotation I have given above from Agastya's poems agrees with this remarkable circumstance. Who will deny that God never revealed Himself to this heathen sage, and that his heart was not touched with His love? But how sad to think that a people once so blessed in centuries past with independent thinkers, reformers, teachers of truth, and promoters of the worship of the one living and true God, the Supreme Being, by whatever name they called Him, should now be practising idolatry ! "How is the gold become dim ! how is the most fine gold changed !" O LAND OF VIRTUE, how low hast thou fallen, and how degraded art thou in the estimation of the civilised world on account of thy idolatry !

13. The heathen Gurus, or "Coolie Parsons" as they are called in the Colony, are all false teachers, and yet they exert a sway over the Immigrants. They, as a rule, perform all religious ceremonies and devotions among the heathen on the different sugar estates. Among the different duties performed by these priests I want particularly to draw the reader's attention to the marriage ceremony among our heathen Indians. All Immigrants, whether Hindus or Muhammedans, who land here from India with their wives or husbands, as the case may be, are duly recorded or registered in the books of the Immigration Department kept for that special purpose ; and all children born unto them in the Colony are set down as born in wedlock or lawful children. All such persons from India had their marriages performed in their own land by the Muhammedan or Hindu priests ; and we have the same kind of priests in the Colony, living among the Immigrants, and

performing marriage rites when their services are required for such a purpose by the parties concerned. I do not say that bigamy, trigamy, or polygamy, allowed and practised in their own native land, should be tolerated or countenanced by the Government of the Colony, but I do say that in the "Heathen Marriage Ordinance" a clause should be introduced legalizing the marriages performed by these heathen or Muhammedan priests so far as the Immigrants are concerned. When a bachelor or widower for the first or second time is desirous of marrying a spinster or widow, the officiating heathen or Muhammedan priest should be made acquainted that he must put himself in communication with the Immigration Agent-General for his information, and for other necessary particulars regarding the persons to be married; and, there being no legal or other difficulty or impediment in the way to prevent the said persons getting married, the Guru or priest who performs the ceremony at the time appointed, should at once have it recorded or registered in the book kept for that purpose in the Immigration Office, and such a marriage should by the law of the land be considered a lawful act. If a marriage performed in India by heathen or Muhammedan priests is held good and valid in the eye of the law in the Colony, it stands to reason that in like manner a marriage performed by the same class of priests in the Colony should equally hold good and valid. I am not dictating; I am only throwing out a suggestion in the interest of the Immigrants. And I am quite certain that if this suggestion of mine be favourably entertained by our Government, it would meet with the approbation of the Indian Government (see Chapter XIII. 3, 4).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS.

1. I HAVE read a good many books of the pious Hindus in India as well as in the Colony, and I have also seen several of these sacred books imported from India by the booksellers in the Colony, and sold to the Immigrants. The word *Shastras* or *Dharma-Shastras* (equivalent to Scriptures or Holy Scriptures) is the general name for the holy writings in use among the Hindus, viz. (1) the VEDAS; (2) the INSTITUTES OF MANU; (3) the PURANAS, all of which are regarded by them with indiscriminate reverence, and believed to proceed from God.

(i.) The VEDAS.—The term is derived from the Sanskrit *Vēd*—the law, knowledge, science, and applied to *Chatur-Vedas*—the four canonical works in use among the Hindus; but the term *Veda* or *Bēd* is extended to other works of supposed inspired origin, in the sense of science or system—as *Ayur-Veda*, the science of life, i.e. medicine; *Dhanur-Veda*, the science of the bow or military science; *Gāndharba-Veda*, the science of music, so named from the heavenly musicians or *Gandharbas*. The Tamilians of Southern India use the word *Veda* or *Vedam* as a synonym for *Marg*, or *Mada*, religion, as e.g. *Krishna Veda*, the Christian religion, as opposed to *Anyāna Marg*, or *Veda*, the heathen religion. The term *Veda*, however, as applied to the sacred or holy writings of the Hindus, includes:—

(1) The *Rig* (Rich or Rick) *Veda* (from a root signifying to celebrate), which chiefly relates to ritual worship, and treats of the first causē of all beings and things, the creation of matter, the formation of the world, of angels and the souls, rewards, punishments, corruption, and sin.

(2) The *Yajur Veda*, especially concerning the ceremonies observed in sacrifices, and contains instructions respecting

religious services, the castes, feasts, purifications, gifts, building of temples, ceremonies at birth, marriage, and death, and of the kind of animals required in sacrifice.

(3) The *Sama Veda*, containing odes or hymns in praise of the Supreme Being, and to the honour of subordinate deities, which are usually chanted ; and

(4) The *Atharva Veda*, containing mystical verses or incantations, or mystical formulas, also treating of mystic theology and metaphysics ; but the least esteemed of the four.

2. Of the Chatur Vedas, the first named Rig or Rich Veda in this list, is emphatically THE BOOK of the Brahmanical system of the religion of India, and may also be regarded as the source or parent of the second and third named Vedas in the list given above. In short, the Chatur (or four) Vedas may be regarded as the four editions of one work, written at different times in the Sanskrit language, and hence sealed books to the Hindus as a whole, and also to the Brahmans themselves, who, with the exception of the most learned Shastris, understand very little or no Sanskrit. Though the Vedas may be hidden or sealed books to the Hindus as a nation, there are other religious or sacred books with which the educated classes are thoroughly acquainted. The Vedas are said to have proceeded from the four mouths of Brahma like breath, and there are some Brahmans who contend that the Vedas are literally and truly a part of Brahma's essence. The Brahman, who is said to be the "mouthpiece" of Brahma or God, is the only person who is expected to read, explain, and understand the Vedas. Of their date nothing certain is known. Some of the Hindus or Brahmans assign the arrangement of the Veda to the opening of the Kaliyug, 3000 years B.C. They were probably written in the 13th or 14th century before the Christian era. They form, together, eleven huge folio volumes, and are believed to have been compiled from tradition by one Vyasa, and hence in Southern India he has frequently been called *Veda Vyasa*—Vyasa the compiler of the Vedas. The Veda, which is regarded as the fountain of all true religion and the primeval source of every other species of useful knowledge, is divided into :—

(1) The *Sanhita* or *Mantra*, being a collection of metrical hymns (called *Suktas*) very ancient, and probably sung in Central Asia when Moses, the leader and lawgiver of Israel, was compiling the Pentateuch in the wilderness of Sinai. The greater number of these hymns are in honour of the Vedic Triad, or Trinity,—such as *Agni*, the god of fire; *Indra*, the god of the air; and *Sūrya*, the sun, worshipped also by the names of Vishnu and Savitri, though he is not so prominent an object of adoration as in some other ancient systems of religion.

(2) The *Brahmana*, containing rules for Brahmans as how to use these hymns, with ritual directions and comments explanatory of the sacrifices; and

(3) The *Upanishads* (a term signifying “Divine Science,” as well the name applied to science and to the book which contains it), treating on speculative theology of the Hindus, or mystical or secret doctrines. Some of these Upanishads, however, are found detached. They are sixty-two in number. The Vedas are further encumbered with supplementary and dependent works, called *Vedangas*, *Sutras*, *Darshans*, etc., whose contents are little known, and the study of which would furnish occupation for a long and laborious life. To all this must further be added the *Bhagavat Gita*, sometimes called the fifth Veda, which teaches the pantheistical system termed Vedantism. This was written expressly for the lower orders of Hindus, such as Shudras and women.

3. Although we have numerous heathen Hindu priests in the Colony, who are expected to perform the various religious ceremonies as a whole, they are an ignorant lot, as already stated. To them and to the Hindus as a nation the Vedas are sealed books; they are never allowed to know their contents. These Vedas are considered holy books. “In the exercise of their ingenuity to discover resemblances between the true religion and the Hindu mythology, some have gone so far as to find in these books some analogies to the Books of Moses. Because one gives some account of the creation of the world and of man, THAT they imagine corresponds with Genesis. Because another contains laws and ordinances to

regulate their worship, THAT is thought to resemble Exodus. Because another has enjoined sacrifices of all kinds, and describes minutely the manner in which they are to be offered, THAT is thought to be similar to Leviticus. Because another teaches lessons of morality, and unfolds the blessings and curses which priests may pronounce, THAT they maintain must be analogous to Deuteronomy; and since the notion prevails that these Vedas were given by Brahma from Mount Meros, they trace, in this circumstance, the delivery of the law from Mount Sinai. These are, no doubt, strange fancies. But minds of a certain order delight in such researches and in drawing such analogies; it is enough to ordinary minds that they hear of such inquiries and contemplate the results." But, says Siva-vakkyar, "What, O wretch, is the Veda? What, O wretch, is the interpretation? What, O wretch, is the instruction? What, O wretch, is the Vedanta? What, O wretch, is the Divine foot? What, O wretch, are the distinctions? Study, study to know thyself, and so instruct others."

(ii.) The INSTITUTES OF MANU, embodying the system elaborated in the Brahmana and Upanishads in the shape of a complete code of civil and religious law, occupy a place altogether pre-eminent. The author is "known in the Puranas as the son of Brahma, and one of the progenitors of mankind." "These Institutes, in twelve volumes, though inferior to the Vedas in antiquity, are held to be equally sacred; and, owing to their being more closely united with the business of life, have tended much to mould the opinions of the Hindus. Sir William Jones places the publication of these ordinances about 880 B.C. The work has been translated by the great Orientalist, and published over and over again in London and Calcutta."

(iii.) The PURANAS, derived from a word signifying *old*, are in Hindu literature what the Vedas are in theology, and the Shastras are in science. Their object is to preserve old traditions, and are eighteen in number, with as many *upas* or supplementary Puranas. They are filled with fragments of various systems of cosmogony and philosophy, and with mythological poems of great popularity and interest, extending over

a period of very uncertain antiquity. They were originally written in Sanskrit, at about the same time as the Vedas, according to some Hindus, and are supposed to be composed or compiled by Vyasa, the arranger of the Vedas. "Under this title are arranged those gigantic poems, *Bhagavata*, a history of Vishnu, who bore that surname; the *Mahabharat*, an epic poem of more than 100,000 slokas or couplets, the subject of which is the history of a race of beings descended from the great Bharata, who was banished the Hastinapur, and wandered about a long time in misery, but at length, by the assistance of Krishna, regained his crown and re-enjoyed prosperity. It is compared for its beauty to a deep and noble forest, abounding in delicious fruits and fragrant flowers, shaded and watered by perennial springs." "They seem to be 'pious frauds,' intended to support the religious views and the superiority of the favourite gods of those teachers who at different times established the different forms and ceremonies of Hinduism as it now exists. Hence we find the Vishnu Purana dwelling chiefly on the merits of Vishnu; the Brahma Purana, after the general topics, speaking particularly of the holiness of Orissa, Shiva, and especially of Jagannath."

(iv.) The *RAMAYANA*, of which there are two editions, popularly ascribed to Vyasa, the arranger of the Vedas, and by some others to Valmiki, an author of uncertain date, must also be placed in the same class with the Puranas. Speaking of the excellencies of the *Ramayana*, Valmiki, the compiler, says: "He who sings and hears this great poem continually has attained to the highest state of enjoyment, and will finally be equal to the gods." The *Ramayana* gives a description of the different Avatars or incarnations of Vishnu, and a long and tedious account of Rama, son of Dasuratha, king of Oudh, as the great hero of the day.

To this list of sacred or holy writings of the Hindus I may add the various—

(v.) *SHASTRAS*, which hold a prominent place in the Hindu sacred literature. Rishis and sages are their authors, and their themes less sacred than those of the Vedas. These teach respectively the science of architecture, law, and logic,

moral philosophy, astrology, and medicine. Two classes of doctrine are reckoned, one containing three systems, and the other six systems, each one denominated a Shastra. Of the first kind are—

(1) The Shastra of the Sankya school of philosophy, or doctrine, at the head of which is Cabilar.¹ The work written by him on the threefold energy of Maya, consort of Brahm, or the supreme, in creation, preservation, and destruction.

(2) The Yoga philosophy, as taught by the muni, or sage, named Patanjala.

(3) The Vedanta—the theological portion of the Vedas contained in the Upanishads, as distinguished from the ritual, or ceremonial, parts of the Vedas. The founder of the school is Vyasa, and its most celebrated supporter is Sankaracharya. It has been termed monotheistic; but is more properly one which makes the Divine Being the soul of the universe, inseparably connected with matter, and thus resembling the system of Plato and Spinoza.

These three Shastras are called Attiyânîmiganûl. Of the second kind are—

(1) The Vedanta, as above.

(2) The Vaisêshika doctrine, or branch of the Nyâya, or logical school of philosophy instituted by Kanâda.

(3) The system, or school, of Battâchârya.

(4) The system of ceremonial law—Pirabâgara.

(5) Pûrva mimâmsa, the system which elucidates the Karma Kanda, of the Vedas, or the ritual portion, including also moral and legal obligations; originating with the Muni Jaimani.

(6) Uttra mimamsa, the same as the Vedanta, founded on the Jnâna Kânda, or theological portion of the Vedas, and treating of the soul of the universe: it is ascribed to Vyasa.

¹ Who was Kapila or Cabilar? Where was he a native of? It is evident that he was not a Brahman. He was of Draudyan extract, and a native of South India, and related to Valhlhuvar and Avvey. He was the son of Athy, a Puliah, whom she bore unto Pagavan, in Carnoore. He became the head of the Sankya school.

4. In this list of the Shastras I have not included the law books of India, or Smritti-Shastras, as they are called, which are very numerous. A learned Hindu of Southern India, belonging to the Siva-vakya school, referring to the Shastras and the Vedas, says, "When shall the time come that the Shastras shall be manifested to be a lie, and I be made whole, through the knowledge of the mystery [the Sutras]?"

5. The late Dr. Duff, speaking of the Hindu sacred books, observes :—

"The *Aeneid* of Virgil extends to about 12,000 lines, the *Iliad* of Homer to double that number; but the *Ramayana* of Valmiki rolls on to 100,000; while the *Mahabharat* of Vyasa quadruples even that sum! Many of the sacred books exhibit a voluminousness quite as amazing. The four Vedas, when collected, form eleven huge octavo volumes, while the Puranas extend to about two millions of lines! In one of these it is gravely asserted, on Divine authority, that originally the whole series of Puranas alone consisted of one hundred Kolis, or a thousand millions of stanzas; but as four hundred thousand of these were considered sufficient for the instruction of man, the rest were reserved for the gods. Well might Sir William Jones say, 'Whenever we direct our attention to Hindu literature, the notion of infinity presents itself; and sure the longest life would not suffice for a single perusal of works that rise and swell, protuberant like the Himalayas, above the bulkiest compositions of every land beyond the confines of India!'"

So much for the sacred books and literature of the Hindu coolie Immigrants with whom we come in contact. (For Muhammedan "Sacred Book" see Chapter XV.)

CHAPTER IX.

NOTIONS OF THE HINDUS CONCERNING GOD.

(i.) *The Divine Unity.*

1. THE Indians are divided into two orthodox sects, which, however, violently oppose one another—the one asserting the supremacy of Vishnu, the other of Shiva. The Puranas differ in their interpretations of the Vedas, some of them giving the supremacy to Brahma, some to Vishnu, and some to Shiva. These books are, properly speaking, pieces of controversial theology. The Brahmans who composed them, disputing to which of the three gods the supremacy belongs, support the pretensions of each by an enormous mass of mythological legends and mystical opinions in favour of the god whom the author adopts. All are equally supported by the authority of the Vedas. They generally believe in the existence of only one Supreme and Eternal Being, whom they call *Brahm* or *Parabaram*, from whom all things have proceeded, and for whose pleasure they exist. Abul Fazl, who examined the Brahmanical theology with the greatest attention, arrived at the conclusion that “they all believe in the unity of the Godhead ; and although they hold images in high veneration, it is only because they represent celestial beings, and prevent the thoughts of those who worship them from wandering” (*Ayin Akbari*, vol. iii. 3). And Eusebius in like manner assures us that the ancient Brahmans worshipped no images. “Many thousands of those who are called Brahmans, who, according to the doctrine of their ancestors and their laws, do not shed blood, *neither do they worship idols*” (*Prep. Evang.* lib. vi.). Just as the Holy Bible, the revealed will of God, makes no attempt on its part to enter into any formal proofs of the existence of a God, but simply asserts the fact of His existence in

the words, "In the beginning GOD created the heaven and the earth" (Gen. i. 1), so the Hindu Vedas (or any other of their sacred writings) make no attempt to prove the existence of the Supreme Being called *Brahm* or *Parabaram*, but simply assert his existence as an established fact. Tiru Valhluvar in his *Kuralh* thus declares the existence of the Supreme Being: "*Agara mutha lav-ezhuttu ellâm âdi Bagavan mudhattê ulagu.*" As the letter A is the first of all the letters of the alphabet, so the Eternal God is first in the universe. In the Tamil translation of the Vedas, this belief of the existence of one only Supreme Being is more fully expanded thus:—

"Thou art in the heavens, thou art above the mountains, thou dwellest in the ocean.

"Thou revolvest in the earth, but among all these, though everywhere present, thou art everywhere hid.

"Thou art among other worlds, among systems beyond the reach of thought.

"And thou sportest also in my soul—wilt thou ever there remain concealed without manifesting thy form?"

2. The Vedas, which are supposed to be "an immediate revelation from heaven," profess to contain all that man needs to know respecting the nature and character of God. They declare that there is but one God, the Supreme Spirit, the Lord of the universe. They describe the Divine character thus:—

"He is the GREAT GOD, the omnipotent, omniscient ONE, the Lord who goes through all worlds, incapable of decay, the pure *Brahm*, the mysterious being in whom the universe perpetually exists, in whom it is absorbed, from whom it issues."

"He is perfect truth, perfect happiness, without equal; immortal, absolute unity, whom neither speech can describe nor mind comprehend; all-pervading, all-transcending; delighted with his own boundless intelligence, not limited by time or space; without feet, moving swiftly; without hands, grasping all worlds; without eyes, all-surveying; without ears, all-hearing; without any intelligent guide, understanding all; without cause, the First of all Causes; all-ruling, all-powerful, the Creator, the Preserver, Transformer of all things; such is the GREAT ONE."

3. In one of the Shastras it is asked by Narud, "What shall we think of God?" To which Brahma replies, "Being immortal, he is above all conception; being invisible, he can have no form; but from what we behold in his works, we may conclude that he is eternal, omnipotent, knowing all things, and present everywhere." The *Tiruvâsagam*, a Tamil work of the highest repute among the Hindus of Southern India, gives the following beautiful description of the Supreme God:—

"Thou who art pure intelligence, requiring the aid neither of speech nor thought, O teach me the way in which I should speak of thee."

"Thou art not fully comprehended even by the contemplative sages, the gods, or any order of beings."

"Thou comest in the words and in the sense of the Scriptures, and art for ever fixed in my mind."

"Like undammed water thou flowest into my thoughts, O Siva of Tiruperundurei!"

"O Lord! Thou hast taken thy abode within me, what more can I ask?"

"The expanded ether, water, earth, fire, and air, these thou art not."

"But without form, art hidden among them; I rejoice that I have seen thee now, with the eye of my mind."

4. From these quotations which I have given, it is evident that in the earliest times, the Scythic or Tararya race, who first occupied Arya-vratta, and their descendants for several centuries, held as their grand idea the *absolute unity* of the Supreme God, and that their religious ritual corresponded therewith. The true orthodox ancient Hindu philosophy or creed may be best described as stated by its own philosophers or teachers thus,—*Ekam eva advittyam*,—"There is but one Being, no second;" whence also the origin of the Hindu Triad. Brahmanical polytheism and idolatry which we now behold believed in and practised by the Immigrant population, are an aftergrowth, springing from minds incapable of entertaining the elevated abstract notions of the primitive creed. But before I proceed to touch upon the idolatry of the Hindus, let

me place before the reader another quotation of another kind from the Sama Veda respecting the nature of the Supreme Being :—

“ Possessed of innumerable heads, innumerable eyes, innumerable feet, *Brahm* fills the heavens and earth, *he is* whatever *was*, whatever *will be* : his command is as the water of life, he is the source of universal motion, he is the light of the moon, the sun, the fire, the lightning. The Veda is the breath of his nostrils, the primary elements are his sight, the agitation of human affairs is his laughter, his sleep is the destruction of the universe. In different forms he cherishes the creatures,—in the form of air he preserves them, in the form of water he satisfies them, in the form of the sun he assists them in the affairs of life, and in that of the moon he refreshes them in sleep ; the progression of time forms his footsteps, all the gods to him are as sparks of fire. To him I bow, I bow.”

5. Whatever objection may be taken to many of the expressions used in the Hindu sacred writings respecting the nature and character of the Deity or Supreme Being, the same must be urged against our own Scripture and customary representations of God. Hands, and eyes, and feet, and other material organs are ascribed to Him “whom no man hath seen, or can see.” “The use of such phraseologies is a recognised and inevitable necessity, to express the most spiritual conceptions by terms primarily belonging to sensible things : *propter egestatem linguæ et rerum novitatem*” (*De Re. Natura*). We find the following expressions in our own sacred books :—“Thou art my rock and my fortress ;” “Thou hast been a shelter for me, and a strong tower from the enemy ;” “The Lord is a sun and shield ;” “God is light ;” “The Father of lights, with whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.” The late Rev. R. D. Griffith remarks :—

“The transcendent qualities of the Supreme nature naturally led to the contemplation of the universality of its manifestations. The paragraphs which relate to this subject, contain the *Pantheism* of the system ; which term is not intended to denote the vulgar doctrine of the *identity* of God with the material universe, but in every portion and

phenomenon of it, God is to be *realized*; in other words, that the universe is full of God: that wherever we may go, and on whatsoever we may think, there and then God is to be felt and recognised. We confess that it is to us difficult to resist the suspicion that the ancient Hindu sages must have had immediate or traditional access to some Hebrew record, not enrolled with our canonical books, or even to some mutilated and stray fragments of the canonical Scriptures themselves. The highly sublimated *Pantheism* which the *Gita* contains has its counterpart only in the Divine teachings of our two Testaments, especially in the Gospels and Epistles of the seraphic John, who was permitted to rest on the bosom of the Redeemer, into whose ears were poured the unconfessed yearnings of the Son of God,—that John to whom was confided the Apocalypse of eternity, the foresight of the working of the mystery of iniquity, the doom of the damned, and the final supremacy of Jehovah.”

6. We learn, then, from the most ancient books—the Vedas and other sacred writings—that the Hindus (the ancestors of the present race of our coolie Immigrants) were worshippers of one God—monotheists. From later writings—the Puranas, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharat*, etc.—we learn the gradual introduction and growth of Pantheism, *i.e.* the belief that every object in the universe is God. The *Ramayana* and Puranas represent the Supreme Being as manifesting himself under various impersonations, as Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Krishna, Kali, etc., and exhibiting in these characters a degree of folly, immorality, turpitude, and wickedness the most revolting. The worship of ONE GOD, according to modern Hindu theology, means the worship of the *Trimurti*, the Triad—(1) BRAHMA, (2) VISHNU, and (3) SHIVA, the Creator, the Supporter, and the Destroyer; which again, according to the Shaiva *Agamas* and other Shaiva books, being a departure from the earlier Hindu system, is the worship of *Panja murttigal*, the five *murties*, composed of—(1) Brahma, (2) Vishnu, (3) Rudra, (4) Mayêsvara, and (5) Sada-Shiva: the object being to maintain the supremacy of Shiva; while in many of the local or *Upa-Puranas*, Brahma and Vishnu are represented as insignificant or contemptible beings.

(ii.) *The Mystic Triliteral Word A-u-m, and the Hindu Triad.*

1. The *Triad*, or *Trimurti*, of the Hindus, which, according to their own doctrine, exists separate from the Divine essence Parabaram or Brahm, the ONE ETERNAL GOD, is composed of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva—the Creator, Preserver, and Transformer of all things. Though there appears nothing in the character of the persons of the Hindu Triad on which to ground the supposition that this doctrine is a corruption of the scriptural doctrine of the Trinity of Three Co-equal, Co-essential, and Co-eternal Persons in the Godhead, and however corrupted or degraded the Hindu Triad and the ideas entertained by the Hindus, whose religion is of Puranic innovation and corruption, and consequently having little or nothing whatever to do with the Vedaic teaching, there is no denying the fact that originally the idea of the *Trimurti*, or Triad, founded on the mystic triliteral word A-U-M (signifying *the Three in One God*), was grand and sublime. There is every probability to believe that whilst the ancient Hindus acknowledged the existence of One Eternal God, the Absolute and Infinite, though that Supreme Being was never offered to the trust and worship of His creatures, they started the grand and sublime conception of the Triad—the Three in One God, which in course of time came to be known as the three distinct gods, being *one person and three gods*, distinguished from each other by certain characteristics or works *in* and *from* that very one Eternal Divine essence or nature. Hence “the *Triad*, to which the subordinate deities of the Hindu pantheon are reducible, is full of significance, and supplies no mean testimony to the grand doctrine of the Trinity, as held by orthodox Christians.”

2. The triliteral mystic word A-U-M, the apt symbol of the Hindu Triad, intends every deity. “It belongs to Parameshthi, him who dwells in the supreme abode; it appertains to Brahma, the vast one; to Deva, God; to Adhytama, the superintending soul” (*Veda, translated by Colebrooke*, Mill. i. 388). The final letters in the names of the triple divinity, I believe, make this mysterious name of the Eternal; thus

Shiv-A, Vishn-U, Brah-M, and then coalesce and form the word *Aum*, pronounced *Om*,—a word like the triliteral name JEHOVAH of the Hebrews,—which never escapes the lips of a pious Hindu, who meditates on it in silence, and which he dares not repeat or mention above his breath, or speak in a whisper,—like the sacred R.: A.: W.:, or M.: M.: W.:,—so as not to be heard by strangers who are ignorant of that awfully glorious name.¹ Dr. C. Buchanan, who resided in India for some years, and who, therefore, writes from personal observation, says in his *Star in the East*:—

“The Hindus believe in *one* God, Brahma, the creator of all things; and yet they represent him as subsisting in *three persons*; and they worship one or other of these persons in every part of India. And what proves that they hold this doctrine is, that their most ancient representations of the Deity are formed of *one body and three faces*. Nor are these representations confined to India alone, but are to be found in other parts of the East. The Hindus believe that one of the persons in their Trinity (and that, too, the second person) *was manifested in the flesh*. Thence their fables of the *incarnation* of Vishnu. And this doctrine of the incarnation of the Deity is found over almost the whole of Asia.”

3. “The correspondence both in import and construction, between the [Aum] Om of the Hindus, and the Jehovah of the Hebrews, is too exact and uncommon to be accidental. The title Jehovah is denominated the *Tetragrammaton*, because of the four letters [though there only *three distinct letters* in the word, which are *yod*, *he*, and *vau*, the last being only a repetition of the second] of which it is composed.” Neither the Hindu AUM, nor the Hebrew appellation JEHOVAH, has any plural termination, or any other change. “The veneration in which the Hebrews held the *triliteral* name Jehovah was equalled by nothing, save that with which the Hindu regards the mystic

¹ Psalm xxii. 22. The name Jehovah declared by David to his brethren. The Tamil form Ê-GÔ-VÂ (triliteral term), corresponding to the pure Tamil name (of Deity) Ê-GA-VAM (Tetragrammaton), signifies THE ALL-POWERFUL ONE, WHO IS SELF-EXISTENT AND GLORIOUS. This is a most solemn and sacred name among the Hindus of Southern India—the Tamilians.

Aum. By that awful name, according to the Rabbis, the most stupendous prodigies could be performed; and it was said to be guarded by lions in the inmost recesses of the temple" (Basnage, *Hist. Jews*, p. 194). "This name includes all things; he who pronounces it shakes heaven and earth, and inspires the very angels with terror. A sovereign authority resides in this name; it governs the world. Other names and surnames of the Deity are ranged about it like officers and soldiers about their king and general; from this they receive their orders, and this they obey. He who knew all the mysteries of God's name would be ignorant of nothing in all the ways of His justice and providence" (*Calmet*). The Hebrews, for several centuries before the Christian era, regarded this name—the ineffable name—as too sacred to be uttered. The right pronunciation of the *Shemhamphorasch*—being an explanatory or declaratory name, expressing the true essence of the Deity—was only known to Enoch, because he walked with God; Jacob, on account of the wrestling with the Angel of the Covenant; and Moses, in consequence of his conference at the burning bush and on the mount. Maimonides says that the knowledge of this word was confined to the sages, who only communicated the true pronunciation, and the mysteries connected therewith, on the Sabbath day, to their worthiest disciples; but its vocalization was utterly unknown to the common people. The sacredness and mystery in which this name of God was enshrined, were not a superstitious and imaginative figment of the cabalists; they are traceable to Divine authority (see Exod. vi. 3). The omnific, or all-powerful, mystic word AUM of three letters, which represents the sublime doctrine of three Divine persons possessing one common essence, in like manner can only be communicated to the true disciples and not to the vulgar. The following quotations from *Manu* and *Bhagavat Gita* respecting the pronunciation and use of this word may not be uninteresting to the reader:—"Even three suppressions of breath made according to the Divine rule, accompanied with the triverbal phrase (*bhurbhuvahswah*) and the trilateral syllable (*Aum*), may be considered as the highest devotion of a Brah-

man" (*Manu*, vi. 70). "Sixteen suppressions of the breath, while the holiest of texts is repeated, with the three mighty words and the trilateral syllable, absolved even the slayer of a Brahman from his hidden faults" (*Manu*, xi. 214). Krishna, desirous of indoctrinating Arjoon as to the path which sages denominated "*never-failing*," says, "He who, having closed up all the doors of his faculties, locked up his mind in his own breast, and fixed his spirit in his head, standing firm in the exercise of devotion, repeating in silence [*Aum*] *Om*! the mystic sign of *Brahm*, thence called '*Ekâkshar*,' shall on his quitting this mortal frame, calling upon me, without doubt, go the journey of supreme happiness" (*Bhagavat Gîta*, viii. 12, 13). I may further inform the reader that the *Trikona*, the Triangle (a well-known important symbol in Free-Masonry¹ throughout the world, and in the Royal Oriental Order of the Sat B'hai, which originated in India), used by the Hindus, symbolizes the Triune equality of BRAHM-VISHNU-SHIVA, who compose the Triad. The *trident*, also the distinctive mark borne on the forehead of the *Vishnuvites*, corresponds to a Hebrew letter which amongst the Israelites was symbolical of the Trinity. The Brahmans, we must remember, are not only the members of the priestly caste in Hindustan, but they are also professors and owners of Eastern Masonic secrets; and the trilateral A-U-M being the most powerful mystic word corresponding with JE-HO-VAH, derived from and identical with EH-EV-EH (Exod. iii. 14), was held sacred by them, and communicated to the *worthy* disciples alone, but its vocalization was completely kept secret from the common people. There is no doubt that the grand conception of this mysterious *Trimurti* in the *Egattuvam* of the Deity was originally pure and simple, but, alas, it has lost its original purity by the rapid introduction and multiplication of various systems forming Hinduism. It has now given place to the fabled *Muppattimukkodi devargal*, the 330,000,000 gods, in whose existence the Hindus profess to believe, and attribute to the different persons of their *Trimurti*, or Triad,

¹ The triangle in Masonry is an important symbol of Divine union, and an emblem of the mysterious Trinity, equally representing the attributes of the Deity and His triune essence.

separate and distinct offices, though sectarian zeal often induces them to assert what may appear contradictory to this; and their general doctrine is, that Brahma creates, Vishnu preserves, and Shiva destroys or transforms, and then, at the end of a kalpa or æon of time, these three Divine personages, being subject to the universal law of dissolution, become *kevalatman*, simple soul (see Dr. M. Williams' *Hinduism*, p. 88).

(1) *Brahma.*

4. From the Supreme Divinity BRAHM (a noun in the neuter gender, as indicating the negative mode of his existence) comes BRAHMA (nom. case, masc.), the first in order of the Hindu Triad, to whom is attributed the creation of the world and the production of the Vedas. I have seen this deity usually represented as a man with four faces and four hands, riding on a swan,—holding in one hand a portion of the Vedas; in the second, a pot of water; while the third was raised upward to indicate protection, and the fourth declined downward, as bestowing a gift. He is said to have had five heads originally, but Shiva cut off one of them for telling a falsehood, that he had seen the end of the *linga* (or sacred symbol) of Shiva, which by the curse of a Rishi fell from heaven, and increased in such height that it filled heaven and hell. On this account his worship was abolished, and there is but one temple to his honour erected in India. He receives less direct reverence than almost any of the celestials.

(2) *Vishnu.*

5. This second of the Triad appears as a blue man, riding on a skate, and holding in his hands a war-club, conch-shell, a weapon called Chakra, and a water-lily. He is known by various names, as Narayan, Perumahl, Tirumahl, etc., and is worshipped as the pervader, maintainer, and preserver of the universe. In the Puranas mention is made of his several avatars or incarnations or metamorphoses. There are some twenty-five incarnations of Vishnu recorded, of which the *Das-avatars*, ten incarnations, are the principal ones, viz.: (1) *Matsya-avatar*—his assuming the form of a large fish to save Manu, the progenitor of the human race, from the universal

déluge; and also in order to kill *Somukasura*, who had stolen the *Veda* and hidden it in the sea. *A symbol of the deluge.* (2) *Kurma*, that of a tortoise, in order to support the mountain *Mandara* when the milk sea was churned to produce *Amrita*, or nectar, conferring immortality on the deities. (3) *Varaha*, a boar, in order to kill *Hiranyaksha*, who had rolled up the earth as a mat, and to spread it out again. (4) *Narasingha*, a man-monster or a man-lion, in order to kill *Hiranya-kasippu*, the younger brother of the former, who had set aside the worship of gods. [In these four metamorphoses *Vishnu* had no mother.] (5) *Vamana*, shape of a dwarf, in order to humble *Maha Bali*. The father of the dwarf was *Casyapa*, and his mother *Ditti*. (6) *Parasu-rama*, a giant, or Rama with the axe, in order to kill the *Kshatriyas* who had humbled the *Brahmans*; his father was *Jamadagni*, and *Renuka* his mother. (7) *Rama*, or *Ramachandra*, the mild or moonlight Rama (hero of *Ramayana*), as king of *Ayodhya*, son of *Dasaratha* of the Solar race, and *Kausalya*. (8) *Bhalabhadra*, as the half-brother of *Krishna*, and son of *Vasudeva*, by two mothers, *Devaki* and *Rohini*. (9) *Krishna*, the dark god, as son of *Vasudeva* and *Devaki*. [*Jayadeva*, the poet, places three, *Bouddha*, as the head of the Bouddha system, as the ninth avatar, and *Krishna* as the eighth.] (10) *Kalki*, the last, to destroy the world, is yet to appear. He is to be revealed in the heavens on a white horse, with a sword blazing like a comet. The fifteen inferior incarnations of *Vishnu* are—(1) *Sanaca*, a sage; (2) *Sandudana*; (3) *Sanâta*; (4) *Sanatkumara*,—these four spiritual sages are spoken of in the *Bhagavat Purana*; (5) *Nara-narayana*, mentioned in the *Mahabharat*; (6) *Kapila*, head of the *Sankya* system of philosophy; (7) *Vrishabha-yogi*, first *Tirthakara*, or spiritual chief of the *Jainas*; (8) *Nâreda*, one of the ten primary *Munis*, a messenger of the gods, and a common meddler; (9) *Hayagriva*, mentioned in the *Mahabharat*, and to be distinguished from the *Asura Hayagriva*, or *Somakâsura*, of the *Matsya-avatar*; (10) *Dattatreya*, mentioned in the *Bhagavatam*; (11) *Mohini*, a female form, under which *Vishnu* effected the destruction of the *Asuras*, subsequent to the *Kurma avatar*; (12) *Yâgapati*, the chief or lord of sacrifices, always receiving

the first tribute of offerings ; (13) *Vyasa*, the son of *Parâsara*, and collater of the Vedas ; (14) *D'hanvantari*, the physician of the gods, produced along with the *Amrita* in the churning of the milk sea, in the *Kurma avatar* ; (15) *Bouddha*, the head of the Bouddha system, by some considered as the ninth principal avatar.

6. Vishnu, in the form of Krishna (an abandoned sensualist)—the only incarnation, in the full meaning of the term—is the greatest favourite god among almost all the women, and a very large proportion of all ranks of Indian society, and, as *Rama*, is an object of universal reverence to the Hindus. *Pantheism*—the belief that God is in everything, or that God is the soul of the world ; meaning, not that all is upheld by the indwelling of His creative and preserving power, but that His very person and godhead are contained in the works of His hands—seems to derive support from one of his avatars. An unbelieving king, being told by his son that God was in everything, demanded if He was in that pillar, pointing to one, and kicking it at the same time to manifest his contempt for this new and strange doctrine or belief. Vishnu immediately burst from the column, with the head and paws of a lion, and tore the blasphemer to pieces. The Vishnuvites, or worshippers of Vishnu, contend for the supremacy of Vishnu, and his superiority to Shiva, and declare that all things have proceeded from him, and to him they will return. They ascribe to him three *gunas*, dispositions—*Râsatham*, *Tâmatham*, *Sâtuwigam* : by the first of these, as Brahma, he creates ; by the second, as Vishnu, he preserves ; by the third, as Shiva, he destroys. When we analyze the eighteen Puranas or scriptures for the vulgar, we notice that *ten* out of the eighteen are Shaiva or Shivaite Puranas, *four* only are Vaishnava or Vishnuvite Puranas, *two* are Brahma Puranas, and the remaining *two* relate—one to *Agni* (fire), and the other to the *Surga* (sun). The literature of the Vishnuvite sect or system is neither so extensive nor respectable as that of the Shivaïtes. The *Irusamaya Vilhakkam*, a Hindu controversial work in the Tamil language, if translated into English, would perhaps throw more light on the general system of the Hindus,

and the different doctrines held by the contending sects, than any other work that has yet appeared on the subject. The following, expressing the notions of the Vishnuvites, I extract from the *Irusamaya Vilhakkam* :—

“As the spider spins its thread from its bowels, and takes it in again, so the Vedas declare that all worlds have proceeded from glorious Vishnu, and that to him they will return.

“At the period when the earth, air, water, fire, the heavens, and the great systems, and the inhabitants of heaven faded and died [they assert that there have been many creations before the present, and that there shall be many more after this world is at an end], Vishnu alone remained in existence; from the lotus of the navel of that glorious Vishnu sprang Brahma (the creator); and in many places of the Rick Veda it is said that Brahma begot Shiva.”

(3) *Shiva*.

7. The third of the Hindu Triad—the destroyer of mankind—is represented as a silver-coloured man, with five heads and eight hands, in six of which are severally a skull, a deer, fire, an axe, a rosary, and an elephant rod, while the seventh is open in the attitude of blessing, and the last of protecting. This god has as his admirers or followers nearly three-fourths of the Hindu population. The worshippers of Shiva say that he has five faces,—in the character of the first, *Sattiyosatham*, he creates; in the character of the second, *Tat puradam*, he preserves; in the third, *Agoram*, he will destroy; in the fourth, *Esanam*, he governs; and by the fifth, *Vamam*, he illuminates. He has a third eye in his forehead, with perpendicular corners, earrings of snakes, and a collar of skulls. At the end of each series of the four Yogas, Shiva drowns, and then remodels, the earth; his name being more properly the New-modeller, or Reproducer. One form in which this deity is worshipped is as the *lingam*, which resembles the *phalli* of the Greeks. It is exposed to public view throughout India. One of Shiva's consorts is the sanguinary *Kâli*, the Moloch of India, and the other consort is the more pacific *Durga*, who combines the characteristics of Minerva, Pallas, and Juno. The Shivaïtes attribute to the

deity the vilest human passions, and read with delight the filthy romances in which he is represented as the chief actor.

8. The three gods, *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiva*, constitute the Hindu *Trimurti*, or Triad, of whom the sacred books declare that "they were originally *united in one essence, and from one essence were derived*, and that the great *One* became distinctly known as three gods, being *one person and three gods*; and hence all the Hindu coolies in the Colony are *Tritheists* (worshippers of *three distinct gods*—not persons—who compose the Triad) as well as *polytheists*. However grand the original conception of a Triad founded on the mystic triliteral word *A-u-m*, representing the Absolute and Infinite Supreme Being as subsisting in *three persons*, and one or other of these *three persons* worshipped in every part of India, there is no denying the fact that the modern as well as the mediæval notion or idea of the Triad, having lost sight of its original purity and sublimity, has substituted the *Tritheism* which now prevails—the glory of each being based on the depreciation of the other two, and all so mixed with fables, monstrous and immoral, that the analogies between the Hindu doctrine of *Trimurti* and the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity must be abandoned in despair. The mystery of a Trinity in the Divine Unity, as believed by Christians, was even unknown to Muhammed. Being ignorant of Christianity, he imagined the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity consisted of God, the Virgin Mary, and her Son. His assertions of the Unity itself are disfigured by much poverty of conception in regard to the Divine personality. The Deity of Al-Kuran is an idea in some respects inferior even to that of Brahmanical philosophy, and infinitely below the holy and spiritual majesty revealed in the Holy Bible.

CHAPTER X.

IDOLATRY AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE IMMIGRANTS.

1. THE best and the only reliable accounts of heathenism, paganism (Hinduism), or idolatry, as professed and practised by the various heathen nations, will be found not in their sacred writings, but in the Holy Bible. In the Bible we have, in the words of the Holy Ghost Himself, its origin and growth or development; and such revelations of the fallen heart of man as every conscience verifies. In the apocryphal book of *Wisdom of Solomon*, chapters xii., xiv., and xv., we have interesting accounts given of the origin and development of idolatry, the various kinds of idolatry, and further illustrations of the folly of idolatry. The positive enactments against idolatry, and the severe punishment with which the Jewish law met every approach to it, and the rigorous prohibition of all intercourse with idolatrous nations, plainly show how most abominable the sin of idolatry is in the sight of God, how most dishonouring to Him, and how most degrading and ruinous to man. The term *Heathenism* signifies "Idolatry," or "ignorance of the true God," and in the Tamil language its equivalent is *An-nyânam*, which signifies—without wisdom, wisdom falsely so-called : being void of true wisdom and sense ; foolishness or folly ; false religion. This is the term that is in use throughout Southern India for heathenism as opposed to *Mey-nyânam*, true Divine wisdom or religion,—a term exclusively applied by Christian as well as heathen scholars to Christianity, as being the only true religion and the power and the wisdom of God ; and indeed *Mey-nyânam* in Tamil has this signification.

2. Notwithstanding the many positive injunctions and rigorous prohibitions of Jehovah to His ancient people, who

were to be witnesses for the one true God against the whole nations of the then existing idolaters, and in whose custody were placed celestial records, and to whom were committed the oracles of God, the people of Israel always showed a tendency, a proneness to forsake the worship of God and imitate the idolatries of the neighbouring nations, yea, the superstitions and idolatry of Egypt, in which country their fathers had sojourned as slaves. In like manner, notwithstanding the many pious men among them who wrote and spoke against idolatry, condemning it in very strong terms, the various Scythio-Shemitic tribes—including also several of the other previous tribes (ethnologically called Aboriginal tribes, but all of the same stock), who occupied India from the time when its history was a blank and its chronology truly termed “mirage,” whilst they all recognised *only* one Supreme Being as the object of their adoration or worship—were gradually forced by stronger powers—the Aryans—to yield to idolatrous worship, which has, alas! now become the prevailing or universal form of worship in India. When we study carefully the characteristics and peculiarities of the two races of people now occupying India—the Aryans, and Tararyans or Scythio-Shemitics—we are naturally led to the following conclusions:—The Shemitic race is the only one which has shown the possession of originating power; all other races imitative. The Aryan race of Brahmanists have always been prone towards polytheism and idolatry. The Shemitic race has always tended toward monotheism. Aryan gods were a deification of human vices, as witness the filthy myths mentioned in the Puranas, etc. Shemitic idea of God—one who designed, and made, and governs, and sustains all things, as may be learnt from the writings of the different sages of Southern India. Shemitic law protects animals, wild or tame; Aryan never did or does. All the Tararyans who had occupied India previous to the Aryan migration were monotheists, but were gradually, by force of circumstances, drawn into, or driven to, a belief and practice of polytheism. In ancient times, as we learn from the Holy Book—the Bible—the more immediate presence of the living God with men was

declared by either "*a smoking furnace,*" "*a burning lamp,*" "*a flame of fire,*" "*a pillar of fire,*" or, "*fire on the altar which was never to go out;*" and a glorious flame, surrounded by a cloud, marked the *habitation* or dwelling of the Infinite One between the cherubim. Either the knowledge of these facts, or some home-born imagination, led the Tararyans to offer sacrifices to the sun (*Surya*), fire (*Agni*), etc., on hills, mountains, in the sight of the wide-spreading heavens. These in due course became perverted, and corrupted into idolatry, by the additional accompaniments of pillars, altars, images, pictures, and groves, of which we now have great abundance in Northern and Southern India. When the Brahmans, by their subtlety and ambitious pretensions, gradually built up an enslaving religious and caste system, and set themselves as the sole interpreters and mediators between man and his God, they introduced the polytheistic and pantheistic teaching; and when in consequence there was an exhibition of degeneracy on the part of the people towards idolatry, from their midst arose, like Martin Luther, John Knox, John Wesley, etc., certain reformers with their system of religion, and yet no religion at all, but a mere system of pious duty, morality, and benevolence, without real deity, prayer, or priest, in opposition to the Brahmanical innovations. It was BOUDDHISM, the GREAT INDIAN REFORMATION. The Brahmans did everything to the utmost of their power to crush it as a dangerous and ruinous system, and drive out the Bouddhists from their midst, in which they fairly succeeded; and thus was re-established the idolatry now seen and practised in India and in the Colony. Bouddhism, as a philosophy, "falsely so called," has no communion with God or man. It has no trust in Providence, and no sympathy with humanity. Hinduism or Brahmanism, on the other hand, abandons its followers to foul and degrading rites, indicating the heart's sense of a moral ruin, together with some blind feeling after a propitiation. Idolatry or heathenism, as a system, usually recognises one Supreme God, and in practice it encourages worship to gods many and lords many; from which also has arisen the notion that the world is divided among the gods, and that particular countries

have gods of their own. The earliest form of idolatry which prevailed upon the earth consisted in the worship of the heavenly bodies. The sun, moon, and stars attracted the attention, as manifestations of God, and received religious worship accordingly. Varuna Indra with his attendant Maruts, water, air *Agni*, or fire, *Surya* or sun, claimed the reverence of the people. The worship of the earth-god was set up. Men of mighty mind, who ruled the passions and directed the actions of their fellow-men, were supposed to be *emanations* or *avatars* from the Supreme Power, and who, when no longer seen on earth, were worshipped as *heroes* or *gods*. In the time of Hesiod, who flourished about 900 years before Christ, Greece had her 30,000 gods, who were considered as in a sense domesticated; and in addition to these, according to Archbishop Potter, there was a custom which obliged them to entertain many strange deities. The Romans and Greeks are the two particular nations of whose polytheism history has given us a more full account than of any other enlightened or civilised nation in the world. At Athens, the capital of Greece, when Paul preached there, the city was wholly given to idolatry. It is related by Pausanias that the Athenians had an altar for Mercy, another for Shame, another for Fame, and another for Desire; also, that they had an altar dedicated to twelve gods; and, that they might be sure of all, they erected one to "an UNKNOWN GOD." Indeed, they had so many gods, that Petronius jestingly said, "Our country is so full of deities that one may more easily find a god than a man." What was true of ancient Athens is also literally true of modern India; the country is wholly given to idolatry. In India, the term *Diwâr* or *Dehwar* is applied to the god (whoever it might prove to be) under whose special care a village is placed. Ofttimes these Dehwars are the spirits of good men,—Brahmans, of course, or village heroes,—who manage, when they become objects of worship, to be generally considered very malicious devils; and ofttimes they are nothing but mere epithets of the *Dii Majores*. In some places their images are of male, in others of female figures. In many places the villagers, for fear of misrepresenting their *Gram Deota*, erect a

stone without form or feature; like the *si Deo si Deæ* of the Romans, which ambiguous expression was addressed to their tutelary gods to obviate all chance of mistake. Thus we see that the Brahmanical idolatrous system has given rise also to demonolatry and other superstitions. From the slopes of the Himalayas to the verge of Cape Comorin, in all parts of India, idolatry combined with demonolatry has become the religion of depraved, unregenerated natives of the country. Every great mountain and every large rock has its particular spirit; every stream or river its goddess. There are found, even among those who are ethnologically called the Aboriginal or An-Aryan races, "indistinct traces of the belief transmitted by Noah to his descendants: the original innocence and happiness of man; his fall through the temptations of an evil spirit; the final consequence of his sin, and the need of a Divine interference for his recovery. At that point, however, the human mind, uninstructed by light of revelation, goes astray, and loses itself in a gloomy forest of superstition." The present system of religion called Hinduism is a combination of Brahmanism and Bouddhism, and is very different from the doctrine of the Vedas, which had its origin not in the Aryan, but in the Scythio-Shemitic mind of monotheists. From a *one* God system the people were perforce driven to a *many* and *no* God system, and then again to God in *everything*, and *everything* God, and to *many* gods systems, by the subtle and persistent Brahmans who are now the teachers and Gurus or priests of the millions of India. The educated and refined Hindu, with a smattering of the holy Vedas, attends his religious festivals, but only for the fun of the thing. He has no faith in them. He only worships the Supreme, the Eternal, the Infinite and Holy Being whom we call God. His daily conduct, however, may not accord with the lofty principles. You, my reader, as you behold the apparently consistent, and yet very inconsistent, Hindu devotee, may mark much inconsistency in him, and observe many actions which you would rightly condemn. But this is his creed, and though he fails to climb its highest altitude, yet he is no more inconsistent than many Christians at home and abroad, who,

in contrast to the grandeur of their creed, lead but ignoble lives. "The distance now between the popular religion of the Hindus, with all its astounding monstrosities, and the religion of the Vedas, is only too clearly paralleled by that which is between the Christianity of the Bible and the religion of Italy or Spain. The development of Hinduism, as of Romanism, has been the assimilation of antiquated superstitions into what were at the outset pure creeds: it has been degradation, not progress." J. Leyland Fielden, Esq., in his *The Word: The World: The Branch*, observes:—

"Popery, as has been demonstrated by numerous authorities, beyond the shadow of doubt, is nothing but a continuation and adaptation of paganism, in which the worship of images and of saints occupies that of the ancient pagan divinities, and the entire system, even down to the garments worn by the priests of Rome, are copied from the previous system of Seth-An or Satan worship, the religion of Nimrod. Nor are the Protestants of our own day much more enlightened; for, despite of their boasted purity and enlightenment, they still practise many pagan superstitions."

3. "*Ekam eva advityam*"—"There is but one Being (Supreme), no second"—was the orthodox doctrine of the Shemitic race, and yet from this has sprung the Brahmanical or Arya Triad, and from it again, by birth or creation, "the lords many and gods many," all assuming various disgusting characters, having thousands of names and epithets, and all without an exception leading lives of prostitution, for each god has a female slave or attendant. From the multiplicity of gods and goddesses the modern Hindu idol worship has increased to such an extent, that 33 crores, or 330,000,000, celestials or deities have been enumerated. From this array of celestials or gods many and lords many, the Hindus find little or no difficulty in selecting one for every occasion and every possible purpose. CONGANAVAR, in his *Nyanam*, many centuries before Europeans had made themselves known in India, gave expression to language like the following, in contempt of idolatry and the boasted Vedas of the Brahmanical invention:—

"THERE IS BUT ONE GOD; there is but one Veda; there is but one way of imitation by the good spiritual guide [God]; there is but one kind of bliss which He grants; and there is but one caste amongst mankind upon the earth. They who hold the contrary [the Brahman teachers], by asserting that there are four Vedas, and six sects, and MANY GODS, will surely enter the fiery hell."

And SIVA-VAKKYAR in like manner burst out :—

"What, O wretch, is the holy mount? What, O wretch, is the Rig Veda [said to treat on ceremonial rites and cleansings]? What, O wretch, is the LOFTY IDOL? What, O wretch, is the natural image? What, O wretch, is the thread wound round the baked earthen pot [in idolatrous worship]? Know that they all are as perishable as exquisitely wrought silk?" "The books read by disciples, ornamental and pleasing learning, IDOLS and GODS, and the four Vedas, and all the senseless raving of books carefully preserved, were wholly regarded as vile, when I had seen God."

These testimonies of contempt for idolatry, which I have quoted from Tamil or Draudya sages, prove that amongst the heathen population of Southern India, who were brought by force to yield to Brahmanical idolatry and polytheism, there was a degree of knowledge and truth contending with ignorance and error.

4. The reader, pitying this miserable condition of the poor Hindu, is ready to say,—

"The heathen in his blindness
Bows down to wood and stone."

But what will he say when the same heathen turns round and charges the so-called Christian with idolatry? There are some Christians in India, as well as in the Colony, who have a *pujah*, or sacrifice (the Mass is termed by the Hindus *pujah*, literally sacrifice), they have processions, images, statues, *tirtan*, or holy water, fasts, *tittys*, or feasts, prayers for the dead, and invocation of saints. This Hindu pageantry is chiefly seen in the festivals celebrated by the native Christians in Southern India. Their processions in the streets are always performed in the night-time, accompanied with hundreds of *toms-toms* (small

drums), trumpets, and all the discordant noisy music of the country, with numberless torches and fireworks; the statue of the saint, placed on a car which is decked with garlands of flowers and other gaudy ornaments, according to the taste of the country, is slowly dragged by a multitude, shouting along the march, the congregation surrounding the car all in confusion, several among them dancing, or playing with small sticks or naked swords; some wrestling, some playing the fool, all shouting or conversing with each other, without any one exhibiting the least sign of respect or devotion. A discerning heathen Hindu on one occasion observed:—

“They have changed the strong idols of their fathers made of stone, and come to worship weak idols of wood. But they say they believe in Jesus Christ, and they show me the small crucifix made of brass hanging round their necks, and they point out the image of wood to me as a proof of Christianity; they have a great many images in their chapel besides that which they call Jesus Christ. Before every image they have candles and frankincense burning; they have feasts in honour of these images. During the time of these feasts, and also on the Lord’s day, they kneel down to the images to pray to them, and to kiss their feet. They say that Pappu teaches them to count thirty-three prayers to Jesus Christ and fifty-three to Virgin Mary. They deliver their prayers to be carried unto God, sometimes by angels, sometimes by saints, and sometimes by Virgin Mary. Have they seen or heard any order from God to pray to so many persons, or to send prayers to Him by these persons? A man in the Church of Rome at seventy years of age is not wiser in the writings of their God than he may be when seven or eight years old. Counting beads, saying the Lord’s prayer, and prayers to the Virgin Mary, and worshipping any piece of wood that is called holy, these things are nearly all that the old man understands.”

Such is the impression produced upon the minds of the heathen but intelligent and discerning Hindus by the meaningless mummerly of Rome.

5. The Brahmanical idolatry as practised now in India and in the Colony is foreign alike to the Vedas and to Manu. The heathen Hindus have become so depraved in their minds, that they readily and sincerely believe in the divinity of a dumb

idol, picture, or saint. The evidence of their senses goes for nothing in the face of time-honoured and hoary tradition. "How came it to spring out of the ground, if it were not God? Would their forefathers have worshipped it, if it were a mere stone, a mere picture? Does it not avert danger, succour in trouble, remove diseases, send rain and fruitful seasons? And how could it do these things, if it were not God? It appears like any other stone, any other picture (*padam*); but it is only in appearance: it is truly God!" Even a *Kanda cake*, a round cake of cow-dung, called *Barhâvan*, placed on the top of a heap of corn to prevent the effects of an evil eye, and for good luck's sake, in order that the corn (*barhe*) may increase, often becomes an object of their worship. This kind of worship is referred to in the following Hindi satirical couplet in ridicule of the practice:—

"Jag bauraha trishna bibas bhût pûj bhâv lèn,
Barhê na barhê Barhâvanâ jan Kisân rach dên."

—that is, "The world is mad, and for the sake of avarice will worship devils, and will still put on the *Barhâvan*, whether increase result from it or not."

CHAPTER XI.

SUPERSTITIOUS OBSERVANCES OF THE IMMIGRANTS.

1. IN Hindu idolatrous worship, the constant use of *Shri-bha-bhut*, *Vennir*, or *Tirunir*, sacred ashes of burnt cow-dung, is considered to possess potent virtue. Shiva is said to have smeared his body with burnt ashes of cow-dung (*Vratti*), dried in the sun, and thence used in imitation of him by Shaiva devotees. This is called *Vibhuti*. Sometimes a small round spot of ashes is put on the forehead of a Shaiva follower, and hence "he put sacred ashes on his forehead" is used by Vaishnavas as an expression to signify he tricked or deceived him. *Chhattur* is the name given to the covering or cake of cow-dung placed on a heap of winnowed corn, or near the corn, to prevent the effect of an evil eye, or the injury which is sure to be sustained from the praises of any casual visitor, or any "eye-biter," as an Irishman would say. It is for this reason that the Immigrants in the Colony, when their children are found abroad playing with other children, or when sent out on a visit, always place upon their cheek or forehead some black spot, as it is considered to have the virtue of preventing the effects which would be occasioned by any expression of admiration. The general dissemination of this strange opinion is matter of considerable surprise. That it was entertained among the ancients is known from Virgil and Theocritus; and that it is a prevalent opinion, not only among the Scotch and Irish, but with almost every other nation of the globe, is a matter of common observation. By the superstitious East Indian Immigrants the *Chhattur* is devoutly believed to offer a sure remedy against the disastrous effects of fascination.

2. On the morning of the *Diváli* (a religious festival) it is customary amongst the Immigrants to take a sieve, or winnow-

ing basket, and beat it in every corner of the house, exclaiming at the same time in Tamil, *Ishwar irukka daridram parakka*, or in Hindi, *Ishwar paittho Daridar, niklo*;—that is, God be present, and poverty depart; or some equivalent prayer. The basket is then carried outside the house or village, generally towards the east or north-east, and being there thrown away, is supposed, like the scapegoat with respect to the sins of the Israelites, to bear with it the poverty and distress of the people. Sometimes, instead of beating a sieve, the people brush the house, and carry out the dirt in a basket.

3. Among the East Indian shop-keepers and hucksters of the Colony, the first money received during the day is called *Bohni*. No credit is allowed, nothing but ready money being received on such occasions. This practice, which is universal among the Immigrants from India, is precisely like the handsel of England, which Lemon in his Dictionary explains to be “the first money received at market, which many superstitious people will spit on, either to render it tenacious, that it may remain with them, and not vanish away like a fairy gift, or else to render it propitious and lucky, that it may draw more money to it.”

4. Another superstition to which I wish to draw the reader's attention is the *Tashheer*, or *Gadhe par Charhâna*—that is, public exposure with the face blackened. In India, when this punishment is ordained, the criminal is seated with his face to the tail of a jackass, and old shoes, rags, and “notions” are suspended from his neck in derision. This mode of punishment is referred to in the *Institutes of Manu*, as stated in my *Colony of British Guyana*, p. 401. The first intimation we have of a *Tashheer* in the Muhammedan history of India is when Seif-ud-Din Ghori was captured in Ghazni. He had his forehead blackened, and was seated astride on a bullock with his face towards the tail; and, after enduring the shouts and insults of the mob, he was tortured and finally beheaded. In England the procession of “riding Skimmington,” which was adopted in ridicule of henpecked husbands, bears a close resemblance to an Oriental *Tashheer*, or *Kazhudei toranam*. The cow among the Hindus is a sacred animal, and an object

of their worship, and as such they look to it for protection. The taking of a straw, or piece of grass in the mouth, to deprecate anger, or to express complete submission, is a common practice among our East Indian Immigrants. But this action is sometimes accompanied by standing on one leg, which puts the suppliant in a ludicrous position. This custom shows the reverence of the Hindus for the cow, the action implying, "I am your cow, and therefore entitled to your protection." This curious action of holding a straw in the mouth is with a different object observed in some parts of England, in which "hirings" for farmers' servants are held at Whitsuntide and Martinmas. Those who come to the market place, with the view of being hired as labourers, stand in a body, and, in order to distinguish themselves from the rest, hold a bit of straw or green sprig in their mouths. The cow being considered a sacred animal, the Hindus resent its being killed for food. The bull is considered as the symbol of Shiva. The superstitious Hindu would not for a moment hesitate to pay Divine worship even to troublesome insects and reptiles. He would be afraid to touch an insect so as to hurt it, much less to destroy it, for in it he sees the god whom he must not offend. The ancient Egyptians, in like manner, deemed all animals sacred, and hence paid Divine honours to them. It is related of Cambyses (called Ahasuerus), a man of violent temper, that while at war (B.C. 535) with Egypt, he on one occasion collected a mass of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals considered sacred by the Egyptians, and placed them in front of his army. The Egyptians dared not throw a single weapon, through fear of killing or hurting any of the animals, lest the god represented by those animals should be offended, and Cambyses succeeded by this stratagem, and gained an easy victory. On another occasion, it is said that Cambyses, an idol-hater, seeing that the Egyptians were all rejoicing at having seen the object of their adoration showing himself in the form of a bull, in a terrible rage stabbed the Apis, which was carried wounded and dying to its stable. The killing or murder of a cow for the purpose of eating is by the Hindu looked upon in the same light as a man killing his own mother for food, or something incomparably worse than the

murder of a man; and the salvation of even a few of these holy animals from a brutal death at the hands of an irreligious European or Muhammedan Mlechcha, would procure righteousness enough to blot out the sins of thousands of mortals. This is really, soberly, the belief of the majority of the East Indian Immigrants around us.

That in Vedic times flesh was eaten we have ample proof. In the Rig Veda we are informed that cattle were offered in sacrifice. The sacrifice of a cow was considered to afford "celestial" joy to the deities; and as a portion of the sacrificed animal was always eaten, this alone would be sufficient evidence to prove that the law which forbids the eating of flesh is an enactment of later origin. It is now a mere superstition, owing its origin, however, to a wise foresight. We frequently hear of the awful droughts and famines of India. The cow and the ox would long ago have been exterminated. The Hindu's only animal food, milk and butter, is supplied by the cow; the land is tilled by the patient ox. If these animals had not been made sacred, these would not now be known in India. The great lawgiver of India, Manu, who lived in post-Vedic times, permits the eating of flesh on certain solemn occasions. And even the Puranas instance several occasions when flesh was eaten. Then again, the truism, "Example is better than precept," seems to be invested in India. We find Krishna and Ram eating flesh. We are also informed that Brahmans—and it must have been a great number of them—consumed on a certain occasion 10,000 cows. We are informed in the *Dharma Shastra* that it is lawful for a Brahman to partake of such delicate morsels as these,—porcupines, cameleons, lizards of various kind, alligators, and hares. We are also told that it is lawful to eat any creature with five claws,—turtles, rabbits, and *vohûs* (a kind of fish).

5. I have, in course of my ministry among the East Indian Immigrants, occasionally observed a peculiar custom in use among the Tamilians, which will throw some light upon an interesting ceremony mentioned in Leviticus, xvi. 8, etc. It is of rare occurrence in the Colony, but among the same class of people on the Neilgherry Hills, Southern India, it is

frequently done. When a man is considered to be at the point of death, a goat is brought to the bedside of the dying man, who places his right hand upon its head, and his sins are duly recounted by the *pujari*, or priest. This being done, the goat is let loose and driven away into the woods, and is never to be touched or killed by the relatives of the man whose sins have been confessed upon its head. It then becomes the *scapegoat*, or the *goat of dismissal*—"Azazel." It is rather remarkable that this Shemitic Israelitish religious ceremony should still continue to exist among the heathenish Scythio-Shemitic Draudyans of Southern India.

6. A curious custom exists in some parts of India at threshing time, when a deep and mysterious silence is observed. When the corn is ready to be formed into a heap, a man seats himself down with a ploughshare in his hand, which he digs into the ground, and which is supported on each side by some *Kus* grass and cow-dung (*Sháni* or *Kanda*). Another person from behind them throws some corn over the head of the man sitting on the ground, who employs himself in carefully adjusting it around the ploughshare, taking care all the time to keep it as much as possible concealed from the gaze of inquisitive persons. When it is well covered he gets up, and every one present assists in forming the heap. In whatever manner this ceremony is observed, during the whole time the strictest silence is observed, and is not to be broken within the threshing ground until the corn is measured out and distributed. It would be deemed unlucky were any talking to take place; even if an articulation or ejaculation of any kind were made, mischievous sprites would come and extract much of the strength and substance of the corn. The cake of cow-dung is placed on top of the heap, or near by it, to keep off the sprites and the evil eye. A similar superstition had existed in England, which bears a remote resemblance to this. Arabella Whimsay, in the *Connoisseur*, No. 56, says:—"I and my two sisters tried the *dumb cake* together. You must know two must make it, two bake it, two break it, and the third put it under each of their pillows (but you must *not speak a word* all the time), and you will dream of the man you are to have. After

that I took a clean shift, and turned it and hung it upon the back of a chair; and very likely my sweetheart would have come and turned it right again, but I was frightened and could not help speaking, *which broke the charm.*"

7. When the fruit of a newly planted orchard is to be partaken of by the owner and his family, a marriage ceremony has to be performed in honour of it, so that good luck may always attend that orchard. A man holding the Salikram personates the bridegroom, and another holding the sacred Tulzie (*Ocymum sanctum*) personates the bride. After burning the *hom*, or sacrificial fire, the officiating Brahman puts the usual questions to the couple about to be united. The bride then perambulates a small spot marked out in the centre of the orchard. Proceeding from the south towards the west, she makes the ascent three times, followed at a short distance by the bridegroom, holding in his hand a strip of her *chudder* garment. After this the bridegroom takes procedure, making his three circuits, and followed in like manner by his bride. The ceremony concludes with the usual offerings.

8. All the East Indian Immigrants in the Colony entertain a superstitious veneration or reverence for two of the sacred rivers in their native land, the *Ganges* and the *Caveri*, and hence their desire to return to India when their term of service and residence has expired, in order to bathe in either of these rivers. *Ganga* [or *Caveri*] *jî Kâ dhara, pâp Kâte Kâ ârá*,—that is, The stream of the Ganges or the Caveri is a saw that cuts away sin. This is their belief. The Hindus, as a nation, are a very superstitious people, and this disposition manifests itself in a variety of superstitious observances. Fatalism, common to Hindus and Muhammedans, does not, however, interfere with an universal belief in lucky and unlucky days and hours. Belief in the power of ghosts, goblins, demons, phantoms, and fiends is common among the people. The idolatry of modern India throughout, from the highest to the lowest of the inhabitants, is low and grovelling. The deities worshipped by the nation are often malignant in their character; and the priests among Brahmans and other castes attached to different temples are principally sorcerers and necromancers, of whom

the people stand in dread, and whose services are in constant requisition or demand. Offenders are detected by means of various ordeals, and any evil that befalls is as often attributed to the malice of a wizard as to the wrath of the god.

9. *Vidhi*, or *Taleividhi*—fate, destiny, supposed to be written in the head by Brahma—is a doctrine which is believed by a large majority of the East Indian Immigrants in the Colony. With this unhappy notion or idea of destiny is immediately connected another Brahmanist doctrine or theory of metempsychosis, or repeated births, or the transmigration of souls. Both these doctrines are the absurdities of the Brahmanical system called Hinduism. Siva-vakkyar ridicules this doctrine in the following language :—"As milk once drawn cannot again enter the udder, nor butter churned be re-combined with milk ; as sound cannot be produced from a broken conch, nor the life be restored to its body ; as a decayed leaf and a fallen flower cannot be re-united to the parent tree : so a man once dead is subject to no future birth." And the author of the Tamil text of the *Kaivalyanavanita* (a Vedanta poem), in the second part of the work, stanzas 59, 60, 61, and 62, thus speaks to the Fatalists or those who charge Isa (God) with difference in His acts :—

"The fools who think that the sixfold hatred (lust, wrath, avarice, passion, arrogance, and envy), originating from this Jiva, is not only his (the Jiva's) work, but emanates also from that God (Isa), will go down to the infernal regions. Only the discriminating wise who hold that the whole sixfold hatred, originating from this Jiva, is his (Jiva's) work, and by no means emanates from that God (Isa), will at last obtain spotless emancipation. O Lord of excellent truth ! If the chief of the gods (Isa) is common to all, why then does he make some prosper and why is he angry with others ? To this your question I answer : Just as a father his children, so he gladdens the good ones and afflicts the wicked ones. But even his punishment, intending to lead them to the good path of knowledge, is pure grace ;—you ought to know this. O my son, free from the bonds of household ! The Kalpa-tree (in Indra's paradise) fire and water remove the want, cold, and thirst only of those who have recourse to them. In a similar manner Isa

shows grace but to those who approach him, and by no means to such as flee from him. Now whose guilt, then, is that guilt? Consider this! Hear one thing, my son! Those who walk by the good path of Scripture Isa has shown, in order to benefit men through spiritual efforts; those who, following close after the virtuous, lay aside their wicked inclinations; those who, being endowed with discriminating intellect, repel the existing illusion and so attain to wisdom, will at last get rid of the liability to be born again. This is most certain."

The seventy-fourth verse of *Nithinerivillakkam* resembles the statement by Holy Scripture, that "whom the Lord loveth He chastiseth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth." Some of the Tamil heathen sages have protested not only against idolatry and false ideas of the nature of God, but against doctrines which deepen the darkness of futurity.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SOUTH INDIAN REFORMERS.

1. THE origin of idolatry is involved in obscurity. We cannot tell when, how, and by whom it was first introduced ; but one thing is certain, and that is, it is the offspring of the carnal mind, which is enmity against God. It is paying homage to GOD through His great works, such as the sun, moon, and stars ; or making images to represent His attributes, and worshipping Him through them ; or calling in the aid of beings inferior to God, but superior to man himself, and asking them to intercede with God in his behalf. The fathers of the Israelitish race were idolaters or worshippers of idols, and this fact we learn from the book of Joshua, xxiv.

2. Tradition declares Terah, the father of Abraham, to have been a maker of idols, and reports that Abraham was cast by Nimrod into a fiery furnace (similar to the fact mentioned in the book of Daniel, iii.) for refusing to worship him. What is certain is, that Abraham was the "first historical witness, at least for his own race and country, to *theism* or *monotheism*, to the unity of the Lord and Ruler of all against the primeval idolatries, the *natural* religion of the ancient world." Another tradition gives an account of his presumed activities against the idol-worship :—

"The patriarch at first ridiculed the idols, and thus endeavoured to induce his kindred to give up the worship of them ; failing in this, he entered the temples when the Chaldæans were in the fields celebrating a great festival. He demolished all the images except the biggest, around the neck of which he hung the axe with which the destruction had been effected, thus making it appear that the greatest idol of the temple had destroyed all the rest."

Thus we have, if there be any truth in tradition, an account of the first reformer and iconoclast. And yet his descendants gradually fell into gross idolatry; insomuch that, during the administration of the Judges, the sacred historian informs us that "they served Baalim and Ashteroth, and the gods of Syria, and the gods of Zidon, and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of Ammon, and the gods of the Philistines, and forsook the Lord and served not Him."

3. Jeroboam, when he ascended the throne of Israel, used all his endeavours to make heathenism or idolatry a part of the national religion. This form of worship, which practically denied the unity and spirituality of God, became a snare and curse to the people. From the time of Jeroboam to Hoshea, the nineteenth and last, we find no one king free from this depravity. Of king after king it is said that he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord. Even the tribe of Judah, who followed the house of David, like Israel, manifested a proneness for idolatrous worship under certain of their kings, Jechoram, Ahaz, Manasseh, and Amon, who were fearfully wicked, and introduced idolatrous worship into the Temple itself, and filled Jerusalem with blood. From time to time, however, the Lord raised up prophets and others to witness against their wrong-doings, and restore the worship of Jehovah. In the days of Elijah, the prophet who was always zealous for the honour of God, there were 7000 of God's people who had not bowed the knee to Baal. He was the destroyer of Baal's prophets and priests. Hezekiah, also one of the kings of Judah, and a man of devoted personal piety and powerful influence upon others, set himself heart and soul to revive the whole economy of Moses, which had fallen into complete neglect, and to put down idolatrous worship. Ezra, a celebrated priest and leader of the Jewish nation, also instituted many reforms in the conduct of the people, and in the public worship of God (viii. 10; Neh. viii.). These and many other illustrious characters appeared before the world as reformers in the Old Testament times, and exerted great influence in the age in which they lived.

4. In like manner, when the monotheistical Draudyans

were forced by the dominant Brahmanical intruders and persecutors to abandon their form of worship for that of Hinduism, emphatically the idolatry and polytheism of the Aryas, God enlightened and sanctified the hearts of several able and wise men and women from their midst to lift up their voices against these strange innovations and doctrines. *Agastya, Alhavanthar, Conganavar, Cabilar, Siva-vakkyar, Tiru Valhluvar, Tiruvasagam, Pattanattu-Pilley*, etc., among the males, and *Avvey, Sanpagavadivi*, etc., among the females. Considering the age in which they lived, and the superstitious and idolatrous and caste abominations to which they were exposed, they were men and women of noble reputation, great learning, and moral power. "Not only the Tamils, but the smaller branches of the same race, the Kanarese Badagas, Coorgs, Malayalas, and Telugus, as shown in Mr. Gover's *Folk Songs*, are opposed, in their poems and proverbs, to the idolatries and fables of Brahmanism, and in every section of the great Southern family a morality is enjoined like that taught by our Lord Jesus Christ." The Vedic ideas of religion of the Tararya or Shemitic race were originally beautiful, but became much corrupted by the introduction and intermixture of mythological conceptions and traditions of the Aryan or Brahman priests. Hence among the Draudyans, men and women used their tongues and pens in favour of monotheism (an invention of their own brain, and hence of Shemitic origin or parentage, and quite opposed to the mythological and intolerant innovations), and against ceremonial polytheism and idolatry, forced upon them, as already stated, by the Brahmans. These Indian reformers defended the worship of the ONE, TRUE, LIVING GOD, and spoke in the strongest possible terms against the doctrine of the gods many and lords many forced upon them, and also against the evils of caste, which, as a social system, with all its abominable and humiliating restrictions, was a new thing to them, and unheard of till the appearance of Brahmans in their midst. Caste is no part of the religious system which the people have inherited from their ancestors. It is a yoke of bondage put upon them by the arrogant priestly Brahmans, and has *now* become a recognised

institution of the country and people, from which the Draudyans races cannot without materially damaging their own interest be liberated. Though the polytheistic and idolatrous Hinduism of Brahmanical invention has become a system of compromise, or accommodating religion, in India, to suit the millions who have been brought under the sway of the self-constituted and arrogant Brahman Gurus or priests,—who, by long *exclusion*, have become, or rather made themselves, a separate and distinct class or race of people, and possess well-cultured minds,—and a faith which is founded in *monotheism*, derived from the earlier settlers in India, well suited for the highest minds, and in *polytheism* (their own offspring or invention), which presents the triune conception of the Deity as the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer to the less elevated thinkers; yet in opposition to their fanciful ideas and doctrines, the South Indian Tamil reformers or monotheists raised their voices, and upheld the doctrine which they firmly believed, and taught it to the people for a considerable period, as may be gathered from the writings in existence among the Tamil nation. In his interesting publication on the *Vamsabramana of the Soma Veda*, Mr. A. C. Burnell, of the Madras Civil Service, remarks within how recent a period the power of the Brahmans was established in Southern India. According to him, it was only in the twelfth century of our era that the Telugu people were converted to Brahmanism, and the Brahmans established their priestly tyranny among them. But for many centuries before this period the Tamil-speaking Draudyans and Brahmans were at religious war with each other, as appears from their standard poems and proverbs.

5. The South Indian or Draudyans reformers, some of whose names I have mentioned above, always kept prominent, in their attacks against Brahmanical teachers, the fundamental doctrine of their religion, *the unity and spirituality of the Supreme Being*. According to the Rev. E. J. Robinson, a Wesleyan missionary who laboured in Southern India,—

“It would be difficult to find more correct and forcible representations of the Eternal One than are contained in many passages of their standard poems. His unity, spirituality,

omniscience, omnipresence, almightiness, providence, justice, and mercy are clearly brought to view. He is declared to be the source of good, and the refuge and salvation of the soul."

AGASTYA, the first of Tamil sages and reformers, thus taught the unity and perfection of the Divine Being:—

"I salute the great Teacher [Guru], the Bestower of Divine happiness and supreme bliss, the image of perfect wisdom, who is removed from all griefs, . . . who is denoted by the Truth and other names; the One eternal, stainless, stable, and omniscient; the Incomprehensible, who knoweth neither passion, partiality, nor folly: the God who is embodied goodness."

PATTANATTU-PILLEY:—"The wise man saith that God, the omniscient Essence, fills all space and time. • He cannot die or end. In Him all things exist. There is no God but He. If thou wouldst worship in the noblest way, bring flowers in thy hand. Their names are these: Contentment, justice, wisdom—offer them to that great Essence; then thou servest God. If thou wouldst worship Him, lift up thy heart; in spirit serve thy God. . . . For God hath neither form nor earthly frame,—a spirit only."

SIVA-VAKKYAR:—"He hath no shape, nor dwelleth only in some single thing. This infinite surpasseth all our thoughts."

TIRUMULIHAR:—"The ignorant think that God and Love are different. None knows that God and Love are the same. Did all men know that God and Love are the same, they would dwell together in peace, considering Love as God. To those of soft hearts, whose minds are melted by Divine love, although their flesh be cut off, their bones used as fuel, and their moisture dried up by wasting in the golden flame, and to those only it is not forbidden to approach the God who is the golden jewel of the soul."

6. The next subject is the undisguised polytheism which the Brahman Gurus introduced, as taught in the much corrupted and mutilated Vedic hymns addressed to *different* deities. Fire, air, and the other elements, with their offsprings and attendants, are invoked in the language of undisguised polytheism. In one of the passages in the Rig Veda Sanhita,

it is declared that "3339 divinities have worshipped Agni; they have sprinkled him with melted butter; they have spread for him the sacred grass, and have seated him upon it as their ministrant priest." Other gods innumerable had their modes of worship prescribed by the priestly Brahmans. All these were strange things to the Tamilian race of Southern India. The author of *Sivavakyam* (a work of some antiquity) and other celebrated poets have in their writings boldly attacked and exposed the national superstition in the most contemptuous language. By way of illustration I shall here give two quotations from two celebrated writers:—

PATTANATTU-PILLEY:—"My God is not a chiselled stone, or lime so bright and white. Nor is He cleaned with tamarind like images of bronze. . . . Can the Deity descend to images of stone, or copper dark and red? to idols made of clay, or mud baked in the fire? No image made of stone or wood, no linga stump built up of earth and made by hand, could ever seem Divine to one who knew he came from God. . . . Who teach that copper, stones, or wood are gods, and also those who follow them, shall never reach the blessed home, but perish in the seven dark hells."

PATTIRA-KIRYAR:—"Oh, when will mankind learn to use aright the carved stones, the clay baked hard with fire, the burnished copper shining in the light, and not to worship them as gods require? . . . Oh, what fools and senseless beings, to worship idols of wood and stone! They neither see nor hear, nor is there any breath or life in them. Think ye that ye will in this way get to heaven? Oh no, to hell ye are fast hastening, and that alone will be the home of idolaters. Turn ye, turn ye from these Brahman Gurus and their false teaching."

7. As to caste, the Tamil poet Pattira-Kiryar dared to ask the tyrannic Brahman intruders, "Oh, when will the time come that men shall live together without any distinction of caste, according to the doctrine promulgated in the beginning by Cabilar?"¹ who with several others made caste the special object of attack.

¹ Cabilar, or Kapila, flourished somewhere between B.C. 600 and 700. If so, the author of the *Kuralh* was his contemporary, likewise Agastya. Chapter VII. 12.

Cabilar sings :—

“Gentle Brahmans I am bound to bless,
Who these richly-watered lands¹ possess,
For their never-failing care.”
Does the rain keep clear of men low-born?
Do the breezes in their progress scorn?
Does the earth disdain to bear?

“Does the sun refuse them light and heat?
Does the jungle yield what mean men eat,
While the fields support the high?
All alike may wealth or want inherit;
All alike may earn devotion’s merit;
And we all alike must die.

“There is but ONE RACE o’er all the earth;
MEN are ONE in death, and ONE in birth;
And the God they serve is ONE.
Who the sayings of old time revere,
And in virtue firmly persevere,
Are inferior to none.”

“As the cow and buffalo between,
Who have ever such a difference seen
Among men of divers classes?
In the life men lead, the limbs they wear,
In their bodies, in their form and air,
And in mind, no rank surpasses.”

In spite of Brahman editors, the questions of Siva-vakkyar survive :—

“What, O wretch, is caste? Is not water an accumulation of fluid particles? Are not the five elements and the five senses one? Are not the several ornaments for the neck, the breast, and the feet equally gold? What, then, is the peculiar quality supposed to result from difference in caste?”

With the Brahman intruders, caste was primeval, essential, immutable, and of Divine appointment; at least so they thought and taught. But among the various ancient Draudyans or Tamilians there was no distinction of caste; all the inhabitants of India and other parts of the earth being considered

¹ Southern India.

to be of one and the same race. And hence the bitter opposition on their part to this *new* doctrine of distinction forced upon them. They did not deny or discountenance differences of rank among themselves or mankind in general, but they denied the existence of any such difference or distinction as is implied in caste and taught by Brahmans. The Christian religion in like manner does sanction differences of rank among mankind, and teaches us that in the worship of God all class distinctions should be laid aside, for with God there is no respect of persons. The Bible does not in the least countenance caste as a religious institution.

8. As already observed, the various ancient Tamil writers were very vigorous and firm in their remonstrance against the impositions of the invading, conquering, and oppressing Aryan teachers or Brahmans from the North of India. These South Indian reformers were men and women "who not only believed in the one God, but, we may not irrationally conclude, were the happy subjects of His absolving, assuring, and regenerating grace." In their day they were a great power for good in the country in which they lived, and among the people whom they endeavoured to free from the Northern yoke of Brahmanical polytheism or idolatry and casteism, and did their utmost to improve the moral and religious condition of the Draudya Tamilian races. But the people heeded not. They preferred the Northern yoke to Southern freedom. How sad to think "that such a people have been oppressed, ensnared, and perverted! The ancient river, purer the farther it is traced back, has been polluted by violent tributaries, and almost turned from its course." The people now everywhere invoke the idols which some of their best books denounce. Such has been the power of the dominant Brahmanists. Hinduism or Brahmanism is a proselytizing religion like Muhammedanism. True, a man is not made a Brahman when he embraces Hinduism, but, owing to the facilities afforded by caste, there is no religion more proselytizing than the Hindu religion. And it is a hard and difficult matter to persuade a heathen or Muhammedan Indian to abandon his religion for that of Christianity. In

the opinion of the Hindu, Christianity is only a half-filled vessel, which makes plenty of noise. She is always sounding her own trumpet. Hinduism, on the other hand, shows her superiority by her unobtrusive ways. And though she works very quietly, she is gaining a firmer hold upon the Hindus as a nation. When a woman goes to a well, and brings her vessel half filled with water, as she carries it, it makes a great noise. If the vessel were full there would be no noise. Christianity is like that half-filled vessel. Hinduism is the full one. This is a sample of one of the Hindu arguments.

9. The Brahmans as a religious body in India are fully alive to their own interests, and will not suffer any encroachments upon their rights and privileges by men or people of other subordinate or An-Aryan castes. Some twenty-three or twenty-four years ago, round the Saddar (chief) station, Raipur, about 180 miles due east of Nagpur, there was a sept of people who called themselves *Satnami Chamars*, but really agriculturists, amounting to upwards of 100,000 souls, who some years before had abandoned the worship of idols, and acknowledged the *one only true God* of the *Satnami*, or true name. They were led into this movement by their Guru, BALAKA DOS or DAS, who appeared from their midst as a reformer. He was, however, murdered by the Brahmans for his presumption. According to the Brahmanical idea, he, being a man of inferior caste, had no right to assume such an honourable position among the people of his own sept. Balaka Das had acquired some vague knowledge of Christianity, went up into the hills, and, after a residence of several weeks with the wild beasts of the forest, returned with a revelation of the will of God, which was at once received by many thousands of his race. He was succeeded by his brother, altogether an inferior man. Though dubbed Chamars by the other castes, who hate them, these people are cultivators, and occupy whole villages,—many of them being wealthy, and headmen of the hamlets they live in; they are well disposed to Europeans, and evinced loyalty in the anxious times of the Mutiny. These Chamars are the same class of people as the *Sakhyliars* or *Chucklars* in Southern

India, and are related to each other. The name *Das* or *Dos*, which literally means slave, is borne chiefly by men of the *Banya* caste, *Byragi Fakirs*, and occasionally by *Kayeths* and *Brahmans*. It is usually coupled with the name of some deity, as *Narayan Das*, *Bagvan Das*, etc. etc., to imply subjection to some special tutelary god. It is a mistake to suppose that it is the name of a particular family, as was asserted by a celebrated statesman, who, when inveighing against the treatment of some *Das* or *Dos* of Lucknow, stated him to be a member of "the *Dos* family, one of the most distinguished in India." In like manner, the name *Chamar* is given to those whose occupation is to cure leather. The *Chamars* or *Chucklêrs* are leather-dressers or cobblers; and yet in both parts of India they are excellent cultivators or agriculturists. It is on account of their having to do with this kind of business or occupation they are held in disrepute. They have their own *Gurus*, who perform all their religious rites and ceremonies. In the Southern parts of India it is not a rare thing to see fair *Chamars* or *Chucklêrs*, but in Northern India it is. The *Brahmans*, as a whole, in Northern and Southern India are fair, and yet there are in both parts *Brahmans* who are very dark, almost black. Hence the following proverb or couplet of ridicule in use:—

" Kariâ Brahman gaur Chamar
Inke sâth na utriyê par."

—that is, Go not in the same boat with a black *Brahman* and a white *Chamar*; "Never trust a black Brahman nor a white Pariah," both objects being considered of evil omen. The *Chamars* may be an honest-hearted people, and the *Brahmans* most unprincipled in their demands and treatments towards those who do not belong to the priestly caste.

10. It is deeply to be deplored that among the Creole population in the rural districts of the Colony there is a growing tendency to adopt the customs, etc., of the heathen and Muhammedan Indians, and thus become Hinduized and Muhammedanized. They actually take a lively part and interest in all the heathenish ceremonies which they see

practised around them without let or hindrance. I remember one Christmas forenoon, which fell on a Sunday, driving up to Plantation Great Diamond, and just as I got near to Plantation Farm I heard the beating of tom-toms, which told me that a feast was being held on the estate by the coolies, in which, I am sorry to say, the so-called Creole Christians seemed greatly interested. There is a large shady tree on the roadside of the estate in the coolie quarters, considered sacred on account of its being dedicated to some favourite deity. At the foot of this tree I saw a square "high place," or *medei*, erected, with a small altar on which fire was burning. A terracotta god was set up, decked with flowers, and the priest and his assistant were busy all the time receiving offerings from the people and placing them before the idol, and burning incense, etc., and muttering some Sanskrit Sloks which no one could hear. My presence on the occasion was considered an intrusion by the coolies and a nuisance by the Creole blacks, though all appeared respectful when they were spoken to. Before I left the company, I had the opportunity of seeing a goat, tied near by, led by the assistant on the *medei* close to the altar, when the priest cut its throat and sprinkled some of the blood on the altar, etc. What became of the carcase I never waited to inquire; but the Creoles and coolies, I know, had a great day of it. This was bad enough, but there is something worse yet to be told. Not very far from Georgetown, I saw on one occasion a set of Creole young men and women who imitated the heathens around them to perfection. A kind of an altar being built on a small raised place,— "high place,"—an idol god, well dressed and decked with flowers, was placed by the side of the altar. One man acted the priest. After going through a course of genuflections, two cocks had their necks cut, and the blood taken and sprinkled on the altar and the idol. Alas, I am compelled with shame to confess that in many instances the so-called Christian Creoles are the very ones to oppose the missionary in his already discouraging and uphill work among the Indian Immigrants. When the heathen coolies, and those who have been won from heathenism to Christianity, behold such things

practised by the professedly Christian Creoles, they must be led to entertain very low ideas of the religion which is preached to them. I very much fear that if the Creole Christians in the rural districts do not desist from their present evil practice, the heathen Hindus and Muhammedans will very easily win them over to their creed. This has already been done in several instances. How awfully and truly may the words of the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel be applied to this class of professing Christians, who, by their joining the heathen in their abominations, give them the idea that idolatry is a trifling matter, a harmless amusement, instead of a sin of the deepest dye :—“ Thus saith the Lord, *Learn not the way of the heathen*, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven ; for the heathen are dismayed at them.” “ And ye shall know that *I am the LORD* ; for ye have not walked in my statutes, neither executed my judgments, but *have done after the manners of the heathen that are round about you.*”

CHAPTER XIII.

BIRTH AND MARRIAGE CEREMONIES AMONG THE IMMIGRANTS ; REMARKS ON INDIAN FEMALES.

1. ONE cannot live long among the Hindus without being impressed with the fact that they are a religious people. Almost everything in which a Hindu engages is connected with his religion. He has, however, no practical sympathy with the motto of Lord King: "*Labor ipse voluptyas*" (Labour is itself pleasant). But he knows too well that to be wholly unemployed is wretchedness, and therefore he relieves this *ennui* by attendance upon religious ceremonies, festivals, and other amusements, whose name is "legion." In these things he is either a participator or a mere spectator. *At home*, after his simple meal, he takes his pipe of peace, and listens to the domestic conversation, which turns chiefly upon the business of the family, religious ceremonies, marriages, narratives of heroines and gods, etc. etc. As a rule, music accompanies all Hindu festivals, all processions, whether solemn or gay, and also as an evening recreation of the social circle it is generally resorted to. The number of their tunes being limited, causes a constant reiteration of the same notes; and, besides, the small variety of instruments used by them, together with the imperfect manner in which they are played, render the music of the Immigrants on the different sugar estates very unwelcome to a cultivated ear. Though there are in use among the Hindus some forty kinds of musical instruments, the most common among them all, in India and in the Colony—one that is dinging in your ear—is the tom-tom (*tompatom*). As to the display of musical talents, I unhesitatingly give preference to the Creoles of the Colony. They are passionately fond of music and dancing, in which they certainly excel, and in which

they show an instinctive talent; but they are by no means constitutionally a merry race. They can be lively—very lively indeed, and too much so sometimes—and confident, but capricious and fond of change at the same time. I have invariably found their character as a whole exhibiting anomalies and perplexing contradictions, quite a contrast to their fellow estate labourers, the Indian Immigrants, who are constitutionally dull, monotonous, and insipid. The principal occasions of excitement among the Immigrants are the marriage ceremonies and the festivals of the gods they worship.

2. Among the Immigrants parental feelings are very extensively and essentially different in reference to sons and daughters. The birth of a son causes immense joy, and that of a daughter deep sorrow and misery. Many texts might be quoted from *Manu*, as to the importance of a son, but not where a daughter is looked on as a welcome increment. This difference of feeling may be very extensively traced. Both Job and Jeremiah make the distinction in nearly the same words. "Cursed be the man," exclaims the latter, in the bitter absence of comfort and charity, "who brought tidings to my father, saying, A *man-child* (*Zakur*) is born unto thee, making him very glad" (xx. 15). In both the *Hebrew* and the *Arabic* languages the word for a male implies *remembrance*; for a female, *oblivion*. In Chapter XVIII. of my *Colony of British Guyana*, the reader will find some interesting descriptions given respecting the religious ceremonies connected with the birth of children, etc. etc. One principal reason why female children are not much liked by the male parents among the Indians, is the cost incurred by the fathers, on both sides, in celebrating a marriage. It was no doubt to avoid this heavy item or charge that, many years ago, before the English Government by strong arms put an end to the evil practice, the fathers and mothers of helpless little female infants in various parts of India committed infanticide. The wealthy Hindus, of course, could afford to spend freely on both sides in marriage ceremonies, but the poorer classes had often to incur debts which burdened them for many years. It was to avoid the heavy outlay that girls in their infancy were got rid of in

some mysterious manner. Women of India, especially those of Southern India, are celebrated for their modesty. Apart from what I have already said in my *Colony of British Guyana* on this subject, I here observe, in the words of the Rev. J. E. Robinson :—

“The woman’s aim is to excel in household duties. She begins the day early, spends it wakefully, and prevents darkness with lamplight. She provides sufficient food, cooks it with care, and is economical. She is clean in person and dress, and keeps the dwelling clean. She does not make herself awkward by look or manner, and considers it wrong to express herself by signs. She commands her eyes and tongue. She speaks carefully, gently, humbly, and truly, and never uses loud or slanderous words. And she teaches her children to say no evil. Her movements are decorous and quiet, and she restrains herself in regard to appetite and pleasure. She is of a contented, patient, sincere, charitable, and forgiving disposition, refrains from strife and adventure, and maintains a pleasant temper. As to her household, so to visitors and neighbours, her conduct is irreproachable. She sympathizes with the needy and suffering, and does her part in the supreme duties of beneficence and hospitality. The wife does not lose self-respect. It is as much her pleasure as her duty to wear in her husband’s presence jewels and other ornaments, which are unbecoming when he is away, and are forbidden to the widow. Her ruling motive is the blessedness, for herself and her house, of a good and honourable name. She does not go abroad without cause. Yet she has considerable freedom. . . . A part of the house is assigned to the female members of a Tamil family ; but it is not a prison of slavish seclusion, as the zenana of Northern India. . . . The women of Southern India are uniformly chaste and temperate by nature. Gentle and timid as they are, usually shrinking from observation, they are nevertheless ardent in their attachments. . . . In Southern India the conduct of the women is much less restrained than in the Northern provinces.”

What a striking contrast do we see in the Colony between the females from Northern and Southern India. The women of Northern India are bold, unchaste, and unfaithful in their ways, and hence the large number—more than ninety per cent.—of wife murders committed among the Calcutta

Immigrants. We very seldom hear of a wife murder committed among the Immigrants who have come to the Colony from Southern India. They are a peaceful and law-abiding people, and their women are not so immoral, loose, or unfaithful, and they are not given to leaving their husbands as the Calcuttian females do. If any female among them has unfortunately been guilty of any immoral act, or been guilty of unfaithfulness to her husband, she is not cut up with the cutlass, and made mincemeat of, by her husband. I do not hesitate in saying that the Calcutta Immigrants are a blood-thirsty set of people, and we have evidences of this in abundance. They look upon their wives as slaves, and as mere chattels,—to do with them as they please. Though the Indian indentured woman in the Colony feels that she is independent of her husband, as she has to *earn* her own living by working in the field, and gets her weekly wages into her own hands from the overseer's pay-table, the male Immigrant *does* everything at home to humble her, and to treat her more like an irrational than a rational being. Hence the many unfortunate disputes between husbands and their wives or keepers. This is not so among the South Indian male and female Immigrants. The husbands treat their wives with respect, and have confidence in them, and regard the sanctity of the marriage state, and hence very rarely any serious disturbance takes place between the husband and wife so as to end in the deprivation of life or murder. Ninety per cent. of the heathen females imported from Calcutta are by nature and habit given to immoral and adulterous practices, and care not what other people think of them in regard to their loose habits and way of living. Add to this another humiliating fact. On their arrival in British Guyana, a professedly Christian Colony, they come in contact with a large number of disreputable characters belonging to the Colony, and from the other West Indian Islands, professing themselves Christians, who, if not worse, are not better than the heathen females from Calcutta in regard to this matter. The unblushing and open manner (so different to the practice in India) in which the general run of the Creole females live in the Colony, is calculated to

encourage the already unchaste and questionable Calcuttian females to do more or less as they please without let or hindrance, notwithstanding their exposure to the possibility of having their heads chopped and their bodies made mincemeat of by their angry and offended lords or husbands. There is scarcely a yard in the city of Georgetown, or an estate or village in the Colony, where Creole females are not living in an unblushing, shameless manner. Their public life, language, etc. etc., are all disgustingly filthy. The condition of the Indian women has been greatly improved by Immigration; and as women are very scarce in the Colony, they show to some extent their power over the men. They are so protected by the Government of the Colony, that they think they can exchange one lord and master for another with the greatest ease. I may venture, however, to say, without fear of contradiction, that the males and females from Southern India do not live and lead such wretched and abominable lives, nor are they troublesome and riotous and murderous in their intentions or purposes, as are the males and females from Northern India.

3. Marriage, which is the foundation of domestic society, among the Immigrants especially, I am afraid, is not always dictated by prudence, which is preferable, but it is in too many cases the offspring only of passion. When passion is gratified, there is an end to the so-called religious act of making the two individuals of opposite sexes one. It is in the Colony a money transaction, the buying of a young girl for so many dollars and cents, or pounds, shillings, and pence. Though the Hindu law strictly forbids the sale of a daughter, or the receiving of any pecuniary consideration for giving her in marriage, yet it is often disregarded when the girl is eligible enough to command a price. In short, this law of buying and selling a girl is a dead letter. In India, marriages between old men and young girls are celebrated by Brahmans, who recite some Sanskrit verses with the utmost rapidity, so that no one understands what is said. The whole ceremony, on the part of the bridegroom and the bride, consists in walking three times round the sacred fire and performing the *Homa*, and having the garments of the parties tied together, and the *tali* (equivalent

to the wedding-ring) tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom. The bride has also to make *seven steps*, at the last of which the marriage is pronounced by the officiating priest complete. I have never known any written documents given by the priest to the married couple, in the shape of a certificate, purporting that they are legally married. Among the Muhammedans, at the marriage called *nikah*, the happy man—the bridegroom—recites certain chapters of Al-Kuran, with the five creeds, the articles of belief, and the prayer of praise; after which he joins hands,—not with the bride, as her presence in person is contrary to Muhammedan notions of delicacy,—but with the Vakeel or proxy, and their mutual faith is pledged in a prescribed formula. Prayers are then offered by the Kazi, who concludes by sending some sugar-candy to the bride, with a message that she is married to such a person. These marriages, in both cases, are held valid and lawful in India by the British Government. I must say, however, that when persons emigrate to distant foreign countries in search of wealth and work, in many instances married men and women leave their wives and husbands behind them till they return to their country, and form what we may call a temporary *runaway match* or marriage with others at or before they reach the several emigration depôts at Calcutta and Madras, and then embark as husbands and wives to their new destinations; and all such who land in British Guyana are duly recorded or registered as married people, and treated as such on the different estates to which they may be sent by the Immigration Agent-General. The heathen and Muhammedan marriages, as performed by their own priests in the Colony, are identically the same as those performed in India, and, therefore, I maintain such marriages ought to be held valid and lawful in the eye of the law of the land.

His worship J. E. Hewick, Sheriff of Essequibo County, as reported in the *Daily Chronicle* of June 21, 1887, remarked with regard to the new law relating to the cohabiting and marrying of Immigrants, that “it was a great pity that the ordinance was not made to meet cases of wives other than those registered at the Immigration Department, for it was

well known that two-thirds of the marriages were celebrated according to the religious rites of the Immigrants, and were binding in their own country, whereas here (in the Colony), under existing circumstances, women married according to their religion were placed in the category of concubines, a most unfair and undesirable state of affairs." I would further state that in the "Heathen Marriage Ordinance" a clause should be introduced with a view to put a stop to infant marriage, practised by the Indians in the Colony. All civilised Governments have dealt with the question of marriage, and fixed an age before which no man or woman could be married. In ancient India the Hindu lawgivers fixed marriageable ages both for men and women. According to the oldest Shastras, sixteen years in the case of women and twenty in that of men seem to be the minimum ages at which they should be married.

The costs incurred by the fathers of the couple to be married form rather a heavy item of Hindu expenditure on both sides. Among the heathen and Christian Indians, when two young persons get married for the first time, in addition to the nuptial present given them, the friends wish them joy in their new life. The following is a nuptial congratulation which I have heard given: "May you both spread wide as the branches of a banian tree; put forth roots and diffuse as a creeping stem of the arugam-grass; and, like the bamboo, encircled by your connections, may you never fade, but flourish and prosper continually."

4. Whilst on the subject of Indian coolie marriages, I take the opportunity of saying a word or two on Creole marriages. It is to be feared that a large majority of marriages is influenced chiefly by the attendant display, and that, if the law would permit it, many a woman, like some heathen Indian girls I have known in the Colony, would marry a new bridegroom every month, provided he procured the means for the one day's extravagances, "the pomps and vanities of this wicked world." A young man whose wages, when he works, is from ten to sixteen shillings a week, has, in addition to the marriage *trousseau*, the indispensable expense of the hire of

one or two "broughams," a dinner for twenty or thirty persons, and usually a dancing party, which, in the estimation or opinion of some, is an indispensable accompaniment or winding up. These cost not less than \$50 or \$60, and many wedding parties of the same grade of persons cost \$200 and even as high as \$400. Thus they begin their new married life with a debt-yoke upon their necks. If such a costly display influences the majority of marriages, it has also the effects of limiting the number, and is therefore a hindrance to marriage among a people vain and ostentatious, poor, improvident, and not systematically industrious. Not very long ago, two Indian Christians, natives of the Colony, who applied to me for marriage, were told by some of their Creole friends in the city that it would not look well for them to get married in a quiet manner; they must make a display, and have a wedding feast. I am happy to say they did not take their advice in this matter of a display and an expensive hire of a carriage or two. It is the expensive and senseless parade that is expected on the part of those desiring to be married that principally deters mechanics, and drapers' assistants or clerks and others, who, possessing more ambition than common sense, engage themselves for years, and keep their *affiancée* in suspense and doubt and temptation to err, not from the want of necessary means to begin the wedded life, but from the absence of means to make the senseless parade and show. In higher circles, too, than these, the welcome smile of the young wife, scarce past the honeymoon, is met by the spasmodic grin of the husband, who has been dunned again for the payment of debts incurred for the extravagant marriage outlay. Worldly-wise youths veer away from this rock to wreck themselves in the society of vile women; and, the habit pervading all classes, we have illegitimacy from the low canal coal-boat labourers up to the high office stool and desk. With such a generation, who can wonder at the increasing pauperism of the Colony? In justice to many, I must say that they have sought to obviate the expense without violating "the public sense of propriety," such as it is, by seeking a quiet evening or night marriage at their homes, or in the different places of worship,

either before, or immediately after, the evening service. Presbyterian, Congregational, and Wesleyan clergymen are the only classes of ministers who have hitherto thus met the wants of such people in such cases. .

5. The married women among the Indian Immigrants will never call their husbands by their proper names, nor tell their names to any person when asked. This is the heathen custom throughout India, and, though they are some thousands of miles away from their home, they have brought that same custom to the Colony. The following passage from the Tamil text of the *Kaivalyanavanita* will throw some light upon this peculiar custom, which is altogether a religious one :—

“The woman who, with regard to those who are not her lovers, said, ‘That is not he, that is not he!’ bashfully became mute when they questioned her about the real one. In a similar manner holy writ first pushes back, declaring, ‘This is not (Brahma), this is not (Brahma)!’ but then what remains is Brahma, and about this it speaks, although not speaking.”

CHAPTER XIV.

BIRTH AND FUNERAL RITES, PROSPECTS AFTER DEATH, WAKES, ETC.

1. SOLOMON, the Wise King of Israel, has declared that "the day of death is better than the day of one's birth," and accordingly the Greeks say that the beginning of a man's nativity is the beginning of his misery. Tiru Valhluvar says, "The glory of this world may all be summed up in saying, that he who was born yesterday died to-day;" and Tayumanavar, speaking of the body, says, "Our body is the birthplace of foul insects and worms;" and Pattanattu-Pilley in like manner expresses, "While we foolishly esteem this gross body to be ours; the dog, the jackal, and the vulture know that it is theirs. Therefore, O my soul! remembering that life is but vanity, and death an absolute certainty, see that, even in your thoughts, you devise evil against no man." Truly, "Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble. He is born unto trouble, as the sparks [birds] fly upward." Among the Indian Immigrants of both religions—Hinduism and Muhammadanism—the birth of a child, especially that of a male child, is observed with a variety of superstitious ceremonies; and in like manner the death of a man, woman, or child is attended in many instances with burdensome and occasionally with rather expensive rites. For full particulars of these ceremonies I refer the reader to my *Colony of British Guyana*, pp. 328–379.

2. Among both classes of Immigrants, when a child is born, the priests and other wise persons are generally consulted by the parents in the interest of the stranger, to find out the name of the particular planet, the nature or quality of the day and hour, when he was born,—the good or ill-luck, the weal or woe attending the child's entrance into the world,—so as to be able

to give an appropriate name having reference to all the circumstances connected with his birth. Superstitious ideas are also held by the people with regard to the days of the week. Among the English people, too, there have been some such ideas entertained. They say that when a child is born on Monday, it is expected to be fair in the face; on Tuesday, full of grace; on Wednesday, sour and sad; Thursday, merry and glad; Friday, loving and giving; Saturday, work hard for a living; and on Sunday, never want. In like manner, it is a belief with the natives of India and Burmah, that when children are born on a Monday they are as a rule very jealous; on Tuesday, honest; Wednesday, quick tempered but soon calm again; Thursday, mild; Friday, talkative; Saturday, hot tempered and quarrelsome; while Sunday's children will be parsimonious. Among the Muhammedan Indians, when a male child (*Zakar*) is born on a Sunday, he is usually named Daud, Ibrahim, etc.; if on Monday, he is named Ahmad, Muhammed, etc.; Tuesday, Ismael, Ishag, etc.; Wednesday, Ali, Hussein, etc.; Thursday, Jusuf, Mustapha, etc.; Friday (the Muhammedan Sabbath), Adam, Esa, etc.; and Saturday, Abd-ul-qadir, Nizam-u-din, etc. Among the old slave population of the Colony (the Oko tribe of Africans) and their immediate descendants, there was a like superstitious custom of giving strange and peculiar names to their children, having reference to the day of the week in which they were born. If a boy child, for instance, was born on Monday, he was usually named Qui-a, and if a girl Aju-ba; if on Tuesday, Quarquo (M), Bamba (F); on Wednesday, Quaminah (M), Ahcoobah (F); Thursday, Yo-u (M), Yabah (F); Friday, Quoffie (M), Afibah (F); if born on Saturday (which I am told by Domingo King, an aged member of the Wesleyan church at Beulah, Kitty village, East Coast, of the Oko tribe, is the day of rest or Sabbath observed by the Oko Africans), the child is named Quamine (M), Amimbah or Ambah (F); and if on Sunday, Quashie (M), Quashiba (F). Some of the Christian names given in ancient times were wonderful: imagine a clergyman now-a-days giving the name "Belly" to a Christian child! Here are some other peculiar names,—“Lettice,” “Bacchus,”

"Creole Johnny," "Spadille," "Blaize," "Captain Quashie," "Codine," "Sans Souci." "We were told," writes a missionary, "a story by an old clergyman that he remembers the time when planters used to send a large batch of slaves to the parson's, with a letter something like this :— .

"'REV. SIR,—Together with this I send fifty slaves ; please baptize them, and send them back as soon as possible. Within you will find your fee.—YOURS TRULY'!!"

3. The Muhammedan Indian females, though quite ignorant of Al-Kuran and its teachings, when they are made or become mothers, have to attend to the Law of Purification, as described in Lev. xii., and at the end of *forty* days' retirement or separation they are purified, and then return to their household duties. A sacrifice, though inconsistent with the spirit of Islam, as there is no acknowledgment in the Muhammedan creed of any atonement or substitution, but more, I believe, in imitation of the Hindu sacrificial system, is offered—namely, two he-goats for a boy, and one for a girl child. When the sacrifice is offered by the Muhammedan parent, the child's head is shaved, and an offering made of the hair. The Hindus in like manner shave the heads of their sons, but not till they are three years of age. The Muhammedan, whether in India or in the Colony, however, takes no life for food, as that of sheep, or goat, or fowl, without at the same time going through a formula in which the greatness of his God is proclaimed. Thus the neck of the goat or fowl held with one hand, and the other holding a knife, the words are pronounced, "*Bismillah Ibrahim, Khalil-ullah, Allah akbar ust* ;—" "In the name of God, of Abraham, the merciful God,—God is great ;" and, with the completion of the sentence, the poor goat's or fowl's head is cut off ; and the eating of its flesh is made lawful, which, in Muhammedan theology, is called *hulal-kar* (the making lawful).

4. As a rule, among the Muhammedans and Hindus, when a person dies, the corpse is at once bathed and shrouded, and the funeral ceremonies or obsequies performed as soon as possible. They never allow dead persons or corpses to remain

long with them. "Let me bury my dead from my sight" at once, or as soon as possible, is the cry of the friends and relatives of the deceased. No one presumes to walk *in front* of the corpse when the funeral procession starts from the house; that space being left for the *angels* to escort it to its final home or resting-place. Among both classes of Immigrants in the Colony the funeral obsequies terminate in a feast given to friends and relatives in the name of the dead. Death puts an end to all their *santoshams*, and the widow, if any, of the deceased is deprived of all her jewelleries and earthly toys and joys. The Muhammedans say, and the Hindus in like manner believe, that if the deceased had been a good, virtuous man in his lifetime, the sooner he reaches heaven (*mukhti*) the better for him; and if he had been bad or had led a vicious life, it will be a great curse on the family to allow the doom of the dead to linger in the house; and therefore they hasten to bury the dead out of their sight as soon as possible. The Muhammedan Indians believe, also, that soon after the burial of the deceased, and whilst *fatiha* is being offered at the grave after it has been closed, two angels, Munkir and Nakir, visit the corpse; and, having recalled the soul into it (as the soul remains with the body during the first night after burial), compel it to sit up and undergo the ordeal called the examination or beating of the dead. "One of these angels sits on the right hand, and the other on the left," and these are a kind of shorthand writers, who put down every word, thought, and deed;—one of these writes all the good actions, etc., the other puts down all the wicked ones. These will appear for or against every man at the last day, when the trial is made to be a very wordy one, and the Great Judge is made to say, "Wrangle not in my presence." Besides several other duties, some of them are called to bring death to mankind, and the Muhammedans, like ourselves, speak of the "Angel of Death." Another peculiar duty of these beings is the guardianship of hell! Some of these angels are black. Four angels are specially mentioned by name, and correspond to the four angels mentioned in the apocryphal Gospel of St. Barnabas. These are Gabriel, Michael, Azraël, and Israfil.

5. But what after death? is a question which may well be asked by Muhammedans, Hindus, and others. Muhammed promised to reward all his faithful followers with the delights and sweets of a voluptuous paradise, where the objects of their affection were to be almost innumerable, and all of them gifted with transcendent beauty and eternal youth. There are various degrees of happiness, however, to be enjoyed by the faithful followers of the Prophet. But what does Hinduism or heathenism promise its votaries after their death? The heathen Hindus of the Shaiva sect hope to secure bliss or happiness after death, but what kind of bliss is it? There are, according to the teaching of the Shiva bakhtas, four kinds of bliss after death. The first three (the terms of which are adopted into the Christian theology), are obtained by *Krya* (works), the last by *Gnana* or *Jnana* (Divine wisdom or knowledge). The first degree of beatification or bliss is called *Salokya*—a being in heaven where God dwells; the second is called *Samipya*—a being near to God; the third is called *Sarupya*—a being like unto God; and the fourth, the highest step or degree of bliss, is called *Sayujya*—a union and identity with God. The Vedanta Shastras teach that whenever a person possessing Divine wisdom dies, he is immediately received into the Divine nature; as air, escaping from a vessel when broken, immediately mingles with the surrounding air. The Puranas teach that the soul of such a person ascends to God, inhabiting a certain place, and is there absorbed into the Divine nature. And Bouddhism, on the other hand, teaches that the righteous life—not soul, for Gautama held that there was no such thing as soul, but only life in man rising ever upwards—will attain at length to *Nirvana* (perfection, or salvation), and be re-absorbed in the Divine essence; though it is almost an error to say that Bouddha taught absorption into God as the stage of existence beyond Nirvana, for it does not appear that Bouddhism acknowledges a God. For the life of the righteous, or for the righteous life, there is ever-increasing joy in ever-increasing wisdom, and after one life is ended there shall be another, ever ascending the scale of holiness, stretching up to beatific and illimitable heights. This is a kind of transmigration:

not of soul—through an innumerable succession of bodies, according to the Brahmanical teaching¹—but of life; each individual, according to the good or bad use he makes of his present life, becomes after death another individual of higher or lower character. The life that sinneth, however, it shall die, says Bouddhism; it shall sink through lower and lower forms, until it reaches annihilation.² But how different from all these

¹ The doctrine of transmigration of the soul is thus described in *Bhagavat-Gita*, Lecture ii. 13 and 22 :—“As the soul in this mortal frame findeth infancy, youth, and old age; so, in some future frame, will it find the like. One who is confirmed in this belief is not disturbed by anything that may come to pass. . . . As a man throweth away old garments, and putteth on new, even so the soul, having quitted its old mortal frames, entereth into others which are new.” It is rather strange that a similar superstitious idea prevails among the aboriginal natives or Indians of the Colony of British Guyana. As a rule, they believe that the spirits of dead men enter, after death, the bodies of animals, and even into human beings, who are, they say, occasionally met with in the most lonely parts of the dense forests to the north of the Savannah. For instance, if an Indian has been at enmity with any of his tribe lately dead, and he himself should fall sick shortly afterwards, he at once blames the spirit (soul) or Kanaima of his late enemy. If this man has seen anything unusual a day or so before his sickness, such as a very large tiger or caman, he at once believes that the soul or spirit of the dead enemy exists in either of these two animals. It is also said by these strange people that the human Kanaima, when met, goes to work in quite a different manner to bring about the death of his victim than by sending his spirit to do the business; for, without warning, he silently approaches behind him, and, by means peculiar to himself, he breaks the neck, arms, and back of his victim, and in some cases cuts him to pieces, or drags out the tongue by the root. Whether these terrible human fiends really exist, I cannot say, but I think something of the sort must be found in the dense lonely forests, or these Indians could not have such a firm belief in them. I need hardly remark, however, that the spirit Kanaima is pure imagination.

² Jortin (Sermon vii. 283) remarks: “When Adam was told that if he offended he should *die*, he could not then understand by death a future punishment after death; but rather an *annihilation of his soul*, and a dissolution of his body, and a returning to the same insensibility from which he had been called into being.”—The following extract from the Annual Address by Sir Monier Monier-Williams, K.C.E.I., is taken from the *Methodist Recorder* of June 7, 1888: “The first idea implied by Bouddhism was intellectual enlightenment, and to attain this it enjoined self-conquest, self-restraint, self-concentration, and separation from the world. Yet

mere human systems of religion, as professed by the Indian Immigrants in the Colony, is the teaching of the Divine Saviour contained in the Holy Bible. Salvation from sin here, and admission into heaven after death, and eternal joys at God's right hand, are to be obtained and enjoyed only in and through Christ Jesus, the Saviour of the world, "who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel."

it encouraged association for mutual help, and so established a universal brotherhood of celibate monks, open to all, all animated by the wish to aid each other in the battle with carnal desires. In this the Bouddha showed himself to be eminently practical. There was at first no mysticism, no occult system of doctrine which was withheld from ordinary men. Nor did Bouddhism at first concern itself with any metaphysical teaching, which it did not consider helpful to attain the knowledge of the origin of suffering, and its remedy. But the great importance attached to abstract meditation in the Bouddhist system could not fail to encourage the growth of mysticism. Even before the time of Gautama Bouddha, who lived about 500 years B.C., there existed in India various practices included under the name Yoga, and to certain ascetics who were practising Yoga, Bouddha is said to have resorted after abandoning home and early associations. The proper aim of every man who practised Yoga was the mystic union of his own spirit with the one eternal Soul or Spirit of the Universe. Even to this hour, earnest men in India resorted to the system with the same object. There was recently published a biography of a religious reformer named Sarasvati, who died in 1883. His father, desiring to initiate him into the mysteries of Saivism, took him to a shrine dedicated to the god Shiva, but the sight of some mice stealing the consecrated offerings, and of some rats playing on the heads of the idol, led him to disbelieve in Shiva-worship. Accordingly, at twenty-two, he clandestinely quitted his home, and wandered for many years all over India, trying to gain knowledge. He at length mastered the higher Yoga system, and founded the new sect called the Arya-Samaj. In the days of Bouddha, the two methods of effecting union with the Supreme were bodily mortification and abstract meditation.

"Some devotees, they read, seated themselves in one spot, and kept perpetual silence, with their legs bent under them. Some ate only once a day, or once on alternate days, or at intervals of four, six, or fourteen days. Some slept in wet clothes, or on ashes, gravel, stones, boards, thorny grass, or spikes, or with the face downwards. Some went naked, making no distinction between fit or unfit places. Some smeared themselves with ashes, cinders, dust, or clay. Some inhaled smoke and fire. Some gazed at the sun, or sat surrounded by five fires, or rested on one foot, or kept one arm perpetually uplifted, or moved about on their knees instead

6. In connection with this subject of funeral rites among the Indian Immigrants, I take the liberty of touching on one or two other strange things which the Immigrants have learnt from the Creoles to observe since their arrival in the Colony. A wake, or vigil over the dead, is altogether foreign to their creeds. Both classes of Indians have such abhorrence for dead bodies, that they will not suffer them to remain in their house longer than they can possibly help. I never knew what a liche-

of on their feet, or baked themselves on hot stones, or entered water, or suspended themselves in the air.

"One method of fasting consisted in beginning with fifteen mouthfuls at full moon, and reducing the quantity by one mouthful till new moon, and then increasing it again in the same way till full moon. And those practices had continued up to the present day. In the *Sakuntala* there was a description of an ascetic, whose condition of fixed meditation had lasted so long that ants had thrown up a mound as high as his waist, and birds had built their nests in the long clotted tresses of his tangled hair. Not very dissimilar phenomena might be witnessed even in the present day. He himself, not many years ago, saw at Allahabad a devotee who had maintained a sitting, contemplative posture, with his feet folded under his body, in one place near the fort for twenty years. During the Mutiny cannon thundered over his head, and bullets hissed all around him, but nothing apparently disturbed his attitude of profound meditation.

"Gautama's adoption of a course of Yoga was thus an ordinary proceeding. As represented in many of his images, he seated himself under each of four trees for seven days, absorbed in thought, till he was, so to speak, re-born as Bouddha, 'The Enlightened.' But he differed from other ascetics in this, that his self-enlightenment led to entire disbelief in the separate existence of any eternal Spirit at all, and even in that of the human soul. He affirmed that every man was created by the force of his own acts in former bodies, and it was written in one of the sacred books, 'If a monk should desire to attain to emancipation of heart, let him devote himself to that quietude of heart which springs from within.'

"But out of this earlier system there grew in course of time another, whose phenomena, as set forth by Patanjali, have been called 'Esoteric Bouddhism.' According to him, there were eight requisites of Yoga. (1) Abstinence from five acts—killing, stealing, committing impurity, lying, and drinking strong drink. (2) Performing five duties—self-purification, contentment, bodily mortification, prayer, and contemplation. As to the muttering of prayer, the repetition of any deity's name was held to be highly efficacious. In Thibet a sentence meaning 'Reverence to the jewel of the lotus, Amen,' was repeated thousands of times, and put into prayer-wheels and inscribed on flags. (3) Of the various efficacious postures, that

wake was till I went to Australia in 1854, where, for the first time, in the city of Sydney, New South Wales, I found that it was the sitting up of friends and others in the chamber of death, with the dead body before them, usually attended with drinking coffee and spirits, etc. The practice of lyke or liche-wakes over the bodies of departed friends, before consigning them to their long and final home, being more or less tinged with superstitions, has existed for some centuries in Great

known as the lotus posture, in which the right foot was placed on the left thigh, and the left on the right thigh, was the favourite. Particular twistings were also enjoined, not dissimilar from the violent movements practised by the howling dervishes of Cairo. (4) The regulation of the breath was based on the belief that deep inspirations of breath assisted in concentrating the thoughts. Hindu ascetics, by constant practice, were able to sustain life under water for long periods. An instance of suspended animation occurred in the Punjab in 1837. A certain Yogi was there, by his own request, buried alive in a vault for forty days in the presence of Runjit Singh and Sir Claude Wade; his eyes, ears, and every orifice of his body having been first stopped with plugs of wax. Dr. M'Gregor, the then Residency surgeon, also watched the case. Every precaution was taken to prevent deception. English officials saw the man buried, as well as exhumed, and a perpetual guard over the vault was kept night and day by order of Runjit Singh himself. At the end of forty days the disinterment took place. The body was dried up like a stick, and the tongue, which had been turned back in the throat, had become like a piece of horn. Those who exhumed him followed his previously-given directions for the restoration of animation; and the Yogi told them he had only been conscious of a kind of ecstatic bliss in the society of other Yogis and saints, and was quite ready to be buried over again. (5) The act of withdrawing the senses from their object, (6) Fixing the thought, as for instance, on the tip of the nose, (7) Self-contemplation, (8) Self-concentration, were all important factors in arriving at the acquisition of supernatural powers. Out of these beliefs arose the conception that the body of Bouddha was in three forms, of which one was gross, and the others more ethereal. It was believed by some that a Bouddhist community called Mahatmas, living in the Desert of Thibet, had emancipated their interior selves from the outward bodies by meditation. The phenomena of modern spiritualism were held to be quite distinct from those of Asiatic occultism, and deserved to be regarded as mere feats of conjuring. He doubted whether the Yoga philosophy would ever bear the searching light of European scientific investigation. The practices connected with mesmerism, thought-reading, and the like had their counterparts in the Yoga system prevalent in India more than 2000 years ago."

Britain and Ireland. These wakes, no doubt, originated in good intentions ; and on the part of the surviving friends who sat up in the death chamber with the corpse before them, it was considered a sacred or religious duty so to do, and also as a mark of respect or veneration for the deceased. As far back as 1285, however, we find this practice of sitting up with the dead exciting the attention and provoking the intervention of legislation. Though in the present century this practice of sitting up, having lost almost entirely the superstitious phase which it once had, is merely a social mark of respect in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales ; in the West Indian Islands and in the Colony of British Guyana it is carried on to this day without losing one whit of its old characteristic of dark superstition. The wakes as kept by the lower classes of Creoles in the city and country districts do not give much credit to their intelligence and respectability, and indeed they are a nuisance to the quiet and peaceable neighbours who may be living in their midst. The liche-wakes begin usually with singing of Psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs from Sankey and Moody's collection, but soon, however, these sacred things give way to love and lewd songs, filthy tales, and disgusting conversations, with obscene gestures and dances, gambling, and frequently ending in free fights. All veneration or regard for the dead is forgotten, and respect for the peaceable neighbours who may be living within a radius of a hundred yards or so is never remembered. To the poor slumberers or sleepers, and the sick and dying in the neighbourhood, the night becomes most hideous from the loud singing, or rather howling, of the people. Various characters find an opportunity to attend these wakes—the pickpockets, the funeral thieves, gamblers, etc.; and the whole night is spent in drinking large quantities of spirituous liquors, so much so that the men and women attending the funeral processions are so dreadfully drunk, that they are scarcely able to walk straight or keep themselves erect from falling. Many such disgusting scenes have been frequently seen on the burial ground at the time of interring the dead. Sometimes persons attending wakes merely for the purpose of getting drunk, will never turn out when their services may

be required as bearers. They keep clear of their mourning friends. These wakes, kept up or attended by both sexes and all ages, usually begin well, and always terminate with sad results: they bring discredit upon the whole community; promote the very worst forms of immorality, in that they constitute a nursery for the social evil; and, lastly, rob the honest workman of his well-earned night's repose. Some steps should be taken totally to abolish this abominable practice, which is becoming quite a nuisance. In the "Minutes" of the Wesleyan Conference held in Leeds in 1784, and presided over by the Rev. J. Wesley, the following question and answer appear:—"Q. Many of our brethren have been exceedingly hurt by frequenting feasts or wakes on Sundays. What do you advise in this case?—A. Let none of our brethren make any wake or feast, neither go to any on Sunday; but bear a public testimony against them." The Wesleyan and other Methodist ministers have as a whole set their faces against this practice, and denounced it from their pulpits. They have endeavoured to bring all their moral influence to bear upon the lower classes of the community, who are responsible for such scenes as those above referred to. I am of opinion that if all the ministers of the different sections of the Church of Jesus Christ were united in action and influence in this matter, and set to work in an effective manner, all the evils now complained of will eventually be reduced, and the now existing wakes become things of the past.

7. Gambling, a growing evil which is becoming too general, is also carried on to some extent at these wakes. I regret to state that the Indian coolies, who are not so callous or indifferent with regard to the death of their friends, have, from their so-called friends and neighbours professing the Christian religion and hoping to get to heaven, learned to practise certain things in the Colony, in the shape of getting beastly drunk, etc., which they dare not do in their country, and especially when the evidence of death is before them, reminding them that they too must die. I have been informed that at these wakes gambling is carried on by both boys and girls, and men and women. Every Hindu child in Southern India is taught the

well-known precept of Avvey forbidding this practice : "*Sâthum vâthum vedanêi seyyum*"—Game (gambling) and strife misfortunes gender. I say the practice of gambling, not only as a pastime, but as a means of adding to their funds by robbing those who would be silly and foolish enough to be entrapped by the well-practised gamblers on such occasions, is a terrible evil and curse. Gambling in any shape and form, and by whomsoever practised, is a short cut to man's resignation of his moral manhood and integrity. Money that should legitimately be spent to supply personal and family wants goes to prove a short cut to riches. Embarrassment follows embarrassment, the loan system is resorted to, and the victim completes his ruin. Among all classes gambling has its votaries, and it is shocking to think of young lads, mere boys,—Creoles and Indians,—just launched, as it were, on the ocean of life, yielding to this terrible temptation ; indeed, in some cases paying their losses with money not their own (which necessarily leads to stealing and lying), and being led on to greater depths of infamy and ultimate ruin by men old enough to be their fathers. Not only men and boys, but the very women—young women and girls in their teens—gamble at these liche-wakes ; and thus, no doubt, scores have been dragged down, down, down, so as to bring a blush upon their cheeks. The liche-wakes, with all their sad and evil results as they are practised in the Colony, are great nuisances, and I offer no excuse for taking up the question in connection with the Indian funeral rites. These wakes are calculated to encourage and countenance all kinds of villainy, and the idle and criminal classes who will not work and do not work, and who become the pest of society, and stand in the way of the Lord's poor, who ought to be helped, and must be helped, and will be helped. While there are hundreds of industrious men and women who cannot get any work, these loafers, who do not want any work of any kind to get an honest living by, come in and make that plea with a view to get food and money from well-disposed and kind-hearted persons, to which they have not the slightest right. Beggars there are in abundance in the city of Georgetown, Indian and Chinese coolie beggars, Portuguese beggars, and Creole beggars, but these last are the cleverest of

the whole fraternity. They know too well how to make "impressions" upon the minds of those to whom they apply for help. "Can't get anything to do, sir," is the ready answer when questioned; and yet plenty of work is to be done and is to be had, but then these professional beggars don't want any work, and when asked to do any work, however trifling, with a promise of reward, "I can't just now, sir. I am not feeling well, or something is the matter with my hand," etc., is what a person frequently hears from these gentlemen and lady beggars. Sometimes these barefaced wretches want to borrow money because they have a dead child, father, husband, or wife in the house, and want to bury, when they never had a house nor a family; and they will faithfully return the amount on such a day, when they never intend to do so. I have had visitors of this description on several occasions, and I am sorry to say that I have been duped by a few of them in money matters, for I believed them to be strictly honest people, from the references made to certain gentlemen and ladies in the city with regard to their respectability, etc. Experience, of course, teaches wisdom. Now, when such characters apply to me for help, I advise them to go to the Poor Board, who will undertake to bury their grand-aunts, uncles, and themselves, too, along with them. These professional beggars seem to delight in their idle and vagabondish life, and rejoice in the fact that they can get their food, without having to work for it, at different houses they visit, and at the same time steal what they can lay their hands on in the yards or kitchens of the houses they so visit. To these the apostolic bill of fare, written for the Thessalonian loafers, is applicable,—“If any work not, neither should he eat.”

CHAPTER XV.

THE RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS CONTRASTED.

1. THE book which teaches the religion professed by the Muhammedan Immigrants is called the *Kuran* (written also, but incorrectly, Koran, Coran), which is derived from *Kara*—Hebrew and Arabic verbal root, with which compare the Tamil root *Kar*, *Karkkiradu*, to read, to learn—signifying “The Lecture,” “The Reading,” or that which ought to be read. The syllable *Al*, in the word *Al-Kuran*, is the Arabic article *the*, and ought to be omitted when the English article is prefixed. The Kuran is also sometimes called *Al-Mushaf* (the Volume), and *Al-Kitab* (the Book), a term corresponding with that of “The (Holy) Bible.” The Muhammedan or Mussulman scholars consider the Kuran to be not only inspired by, but coeval with God. Every word and every letter in the book, they say, are the very breath or utterance of God or Allah, and this is called “plenary inspiration,” which some very pious Christian writers claim for the Holy Bible—the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. The followers of Muhammed hold the Kuran in such high and superstitious veneration, that for centuries they have shown a strong aversion to its being printed and sold as a common book, and have even set their face against any attempt to its being translated into other languages, lest it should incur the danger of erroneous rendering, and thus bring the anger of holy Muhammed and the curse of the Most High upon their heads. Besides its being translated into some European languages, there have been given to the Muhammedans in India and in the colonies, where they have found their way as labourers or coolies, *three* versions of the Kuran in Persian, Urdu, and Tamil. These versions, however, are very unintelligible and often misleading,

and out of respect to the original Arabic these translations are always interlineary. It consists of 114 suras, or chapters, some containing only a few words, whilst the largest has 286 verses. All these are wonderfully mixed up, some of them particularly so, without even an attempt at order, and the result palmed upon the world as an inspired revelation from heaven. The Mussulman divines have been so particular as to their Mushaf or Scriptures, that they have ascertained that there are 77,639 words and 323,015 letters, and they know even how many times each letter of the Arabic alphabet is contained in the Kuran. Not another letter or word is to be added to the divinely-given book for the "faithful," nor any taken from it. Although the original is universally admitted "to be written with the utmost elegance and purity of language, in the dialect of the tribe of Koreish, the most noble and polite of all Arabians, but with some mixture, though very rarely, of other dialects," yet it is extremely dry, and at times painfully tedious, to read or to be read by any one. The translations of it are no better. Being, however, the duty of the well-to-do "faithful" to read this book or have it read through in a day, it is arranged or divided into thirty portions, and in musjids or mosques of kings or sultans and pashas there are thirty leaders, appointed by the authorities of these sacred edifices, each of whom reads his portion in regular order, so that the *whole of the Kuran is read daily* in all Muhammedan countries. Whatever may be the glaring defects of the Kuran, it is a book which is greatly prized by the "faithful" everywhere, and is regarded by them to be so holy and sacred that no person—cleric or layman—dare touch or handle it without first washing his hands, and, if water be not at hand, rubbing his hands with sand, to remove any pollution that might be found in them. The "faithful" read it with great care and respect, never holding it below their girdles.

2. The sources whence Muhammed derived his materials for his Kuran, over and above the more poetical parts, which were his own creation, were the legends and absurd and ridiculous fables current among the idolaters of his time and country, Jewish traditions based upon the Talmud, or

perverted to suit his own purposes, and the floating Christian traditions of Arabia and of South Syria. He derived many of his notions concerning Christianity from Gnosticism, and it is to the numerous Gnostic sects—the Ebionites, Essenes, and Sabeites—the Kuran alludes when it reproaches the Christians with having “split up their religion into parties.” We have no *evidence* that he had access to the Christian Scriptures, though it is just possible that fragments of the Old or New Testament may have reached him through Khadijah, or Waraka, a reputed convert to Christianity, and Muhammed’s intimate friend, and cousin of Khadijah, or other Meccan Christians, possessing MSS. of the sacred volume. There is but one direct quotation (sura xxi. 105) in the whole Kuran from the Scriptures; and though there are a few passages, as where *alms* are said to be given *to be seen of men*, and as, *none forgiveth sins but God only*, which might seem to be identical with texts of the New Testament, yet this similarity is probably merely accidental. From the Kuran it is very evident that Muhammed’s knowledge of the Scriptures was not extensive, and his informers were in like manner no better. Whatever materials he may have derived from our Scriptures, directly or indirectly, he took great care to alter the expressions so as to convey very different meanings altogether from their original. His general acquaintance with scriptural phraseology was derived partly through the popular legends, and partly from personal intercourse with Jews and Christians; and hence the Kuran abounds with passages which in many instances resemble those in the Old and New Testament Scriptures. It must be acknowledged, however, “that the Kuran deserves the highest praise for its conceptions of the Divine nature, in reference to the attributes of power, knowledge, and universal providence and unity; that its belief and trust in the one God of heaven and earth is deep and fervent; and that, though it contains fantastic visions and legends, teaches a childish ceremonial, and justifies blood-shedding, persecution, slavery, and polygamy, yet that at the same time it embodies much of a noble and deep moral earnestness and sententious oracular wisdom, and has proved that there are elements in it on which mighty nations and

conquering—though not perhaps durable—empires can be built up;” and that the Kuran, fully recognising as it does the authority of the Bible, proves a wonderful witness to the truth of the Holy Scriptures, both Jewish and Christian—the Old and New Testaments. The Christian missionary, therefore, in dealing with the Muhammedans, should take care not to attack Islam as a mass of error, but to show that the Kuran contains fragments of disjointed truth,—that it is based upon Christianity and Judaism partially understood, especially upon the latter, without any appreciation of its typical character pointing to Christianity as a final dispensation.

3. When Muhammed as a reformer and teacher made his appearance in Arabia, he found the people of the country in a state of preparedness for a new religion. He, having received in secrecy certain instructions from the Arab Jews and from Christian informants, found himself in a position boldly to declare to the ignorant pagan Meccans that God had revealed those Biblical histories to him,—histories which, alas, are mutilated and disfigured with many rabbinical glosses and traditions, and many additions which are extremely ludicrous, and incidents which are woefully mixed up. Knowing well the character of his countrymen, he found it an easy task to persuade himself that he was “the seal of the prophets,” the proclaimer of a doctrine of the Divine Unity, held and taught by the patriarchs, especially by Abraham,—a doctrine that should present to mankind Judaism divested of its Mosaic ceremonial, and Christianity divested of the Atonement and the Trinity: doctrine, as he might have believed, fitted and destined to absorb Judaism, Christianity, and idolatry; and he proved himself a very clever and successful impostor teacher in this respect among his countrymen. “He said, I am a prophet also; and an angel spake unto me by the word of the Lord. But he lied” (1 Kings xiii. 18). The Kuran, which is declared to contain a more perfect revelation than the Gospel, has a history which is very interesting and ingenious. “The first transcript was kept near the throne of God, written on a huge table called ‘the preserved table,’ in one volume on *paper* (!) It was brought down to the lowest heaven by the

angel Gabriel, and it was revealed by him to the favoured one in portions. The cleverness of Muhammed is here transparent. To reveal the whole of the Kuran all at once might have been very inconvenient and impolitic ; so he thought it best to keep the precious book in the lowest heaven, and Gabriel revealed it piecemeal as occasion served. It was revealed partly at Mecca, and partly at Medina, and some at both places."

"These¹ portions—sometimes only a few verses at a time—were committed to memory by his followers, or were written down on anything they came across, such as palm leaves, stones, pieces of leather, shoulder-blades of sheep and camel ; and this vast heterogeneous mass, in the later years of the Prophet, was put into a chest in the Prophet's house, and subsequently came into the keeping of Haphsa, one of the wives of the Prophet. But it would appear that no whole copy which makes up the present Coràn, existed in the days of Mahomet.

4. "After the death of Mahomet, and during the caliphate of Abu Bekr, the idea was conceived of collecting and arranging the Coràn. After the battle of Yemama, in which many of the reciters of the Coràn were slain, the risk of leaving this precious production on this precarious footing presented itself to Omar, who, addressing Abu Bekr, said,—

"‘I fear that slaughter may again wax hot among the reciters of the Coràn in other fields of battle, and that much may be lost therefrom. Now, therefore, my advice is that thou shouldst give speedy orders for collecting the same together.’ Accordingly, Zeid, the chief amanuensis of the Prophet, undertook the task of collecting and *arranging* (save the mark !) the Coràn ; and the only principle on which Zeid went seems to have been to place the longest sura first, and the shortest last. But there is still another difficulty. As the suras were not delivered all at once, and some suras were given piecemeal, it follows, therefore, that chapters and verses are wonderfully mixed up, some of them particularly so. Imagine, for a moment, the first chapter of Genesis, about the middle of it, to contain some verses from Leviticus, with one or two verses from the book of Proverbs, and followed by a few precepts from ‘the Sermon on the Mount,’ and one may

¹ This and following portions are extracted from Rev. F. P. L. Josa's papers published in the *Daily Chronicle*, 1883. I give his own spelling of names.

have an idea of this artless bungle. Chronological order is utterly ignored. 'The materials were too sacred to be dressed by human hands, and so we have this tangled mass—a mosaic of which the parts are so rudely and fortuitously put together that the design is often marred and unintelligible.'

"GOD. THE ANGELS. GENII.

I.

5. "Say, God is one God ; the eternal God : He begetteth not, neither is He begotten : and there is not any one like unto Him.' This is the 142nd chapter or sura of the Coràn held in great veneration by the Mahometans, and in value is considered to be equal to a third part of the whole Coràn, and therefore it is repeated twice daily. If we read the Coràn, rightly, the idea that the Mahometans have of God is as near as possible to that of the Jews of the present day. The chapter just quoted is levelled against Christianity ; and we may here state Mahomet never grasped the Christian idea of the Holy Trinity, and we experience this daily amongst the Mahometans in the Colony. Proofs of the existence of God are thus given : 'It is God who sendeth the winds and raiseth the clouds, and spreadeth the same in the heaven as He pleaseth, and afterwards disperseth the same.' The omnipotence of God is thus portrayed :

" 'God doth what He will.'

"Thus again : 'His is the kingdom of heaven and earth ; He giveth life and putteth to death, and He is Almighty.' The providence of God is thus delineated : 'There is no creature which creepeth on the earth, but God provideth its food.' In another place we find these words : 'Verily, both in heaven and earth are signs of the Divine power unto the true believers ; and in the creation of yourselves, and of the beasts which are scattered over the face of the earth, are signs unto people of sound judgment ; and also in the vicissitude of night and day, and the rain which God sendeth from heaven, whereby He quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead, in the change of the winds also, are signs unto people of understanding.' His omniscience is asserted. He is declared to be the scrutinizer of the hidden thoughts of the hearts of men. The future is as clear to Him as the present. Five things are known to Him alone, and we will give them in the words of

the Coràn : ' Verily, the knowledge of the hour of judgment is with God ; and He causeth the rain to descend at His own appointed time ; and He knoweth what is in the wombs of females. No soul knoweth what it shall gain on the morrow ; neither doth any soul know in what land it shall die.' He is the giver of all good things. His word is unalterable ; only, unfortunately, Mahomet made Him alter it several times. The tenderest attribute which Mahomet gave to the Almighty was that of the ' Most Merciful '—which appears hundreds of times in the Coràn. He has no similitude, all are exhorted to worship and fear Him. Enough, we trust, has been said to give an exact idea of the God of Mahometans, and in most points we recognise that Divine Being whom we ourselves worship.

II.

6. " The nature, attributes, and office of the angels in our Scriptures are by no means fully described. The very silence speaks volumes. We have but momentary glimpses of these mysterious heavenly messengers. They may (as they have been in some Churches) be a cause of stumbling. The Coràn is fairly copious about these celestial beings. They are said to have been created out of ' fire.' A most extraordinary passage is to be found about the angels. At the creation of man God commanded the angels that they should fall down and worship Adam, ' and all the angels worshipped him, in general, except Eblis (=the Devil), who was puffed up with pride, and became an unbeliever.' They are said to possess two, three, and four pair of wings, and are said ' to glide swimmingly through the air.' The Mahometans are commanded not to worship them, nor yet to hate them. They are said to be around the throne of God, and eight of them will be deputed to carry God's throne on the last day.

III.

7. " A few words about another species of strange beings—*i.e.* *genii*. These, like the angels, are created of fire, but their bodies are grosser ; they eat and drink, they propagate their species, they also appear to be capable of salvation, to be good and bad, to die or to remain alive for ever. It is related that Mahomet was also sent for the benefit of the *genii*, for it is written in the seventy-second sura, that ' it hath been revealed unto me that a company of *genii* attentively heard me [*i.e.* Mahomet] reading the Coràn, and said, Verily, we have heard

an admirable discourse, which directeth unto the right institution, wherefore *we believe* therein;’ and then some curious fable is interwoven with the narrative. And the genii seem to have been some kind of ethereal spies, for they thus speak of themselves: ‘We formerly attempted to pry into what was transacting in heaven; but we found the same filled with a strong guard of angels, and with flaming darts. And we sat on some of the seats thereof to hear the discourse of its inhabitants; but whoever listeneth now findeth a flame laid in ambush for him, to guard the celestial confines.’ These beings are greatly like the angels, for they have wings, and can fly from one end of the world unto another, and appear to possess some knowledge of futurity, although they are limited, as it appears from the above. They are partly like men: they eat and drink, are propagated and die. Mahomet received these fables from the Magians of the Persians and from the Jews, who were very learned in these matters. When education and knowledge will have made progress amongst the Mahometans, such words as we have quoted will be found hard to be reconciled with science, and unless some other religion is ready to receive them, cold unbelief will be their lot.”

“THE CREATION. THE FALL. THE DELUGE.

8. “There is no account in the Coràn of the events mentioned at the heading of this paper, like the one we find in the book of Genesis. But reference is continually made to these events as things generally known in Arabia at the time of Mahomet. It would be well here to explain that the Mahometans are taught by the Coràn, that ‘God in divers manners spake in time past,’ and that God delivered 104 books to various prophets. To Adam He gave 10, to Seth 50, to Enoch 30, and 10 to Abraham. The remaining four were thus distributed: one, the Pentateuch, to Moses; the Psalms to David; the Gospel to Jesus; the last and the best, viz. the Coràn, to Mahomet. The first hundred volumes are now entirely lost, and they aver that the other three books have been falsified by the Jews and the Christians; therefore, according to the Moslems, the only reliable book is the Coràn.

“*The Creation.*

9. “The creation of the earth was the work of ‘two days.’ And God placed in the earth mountains firmly rooted, rising above the same: and He blessed it; and provided therein the

food of the creatures designed to be the inhabitants thereof, in *four days*; equally for those who ask. Then He set His mind to the creation of heaven, and it was smoke; and He said unto it and to the earth, Come either obediently or against your will. They answered, We come obedient to Thy command. And He formed them into seven heavens in two days, and revealed unto every heaven its office. And He adorned the lower heaven with lights, and placed therein a guard of angels.' The earth was originally flat, and is considered to be fixed; and if we read the description rightly, the mountains were an after-thought, and are used as a kind of large bolts to pin the earth down. The passage reads thus: 'He hath thrown upon the earth mountains firmly rooted, lest it should move with you.' Man's creation is thus alluded to: 'Wisely we created man of a most excellent fabric.' The story of the creation of man is thus described: 'He created man of dried clay like an earthen vessel.' The first man was called Adam, and the first woman Eve. They were both placed in Eden, and God taught him all the names of animals, etc. Adam, according to Mahometan tradition, was a very tall man; he equalled in stature the tallest palm tree.

"The Fall."

10. "We have already recorded the fact that man was supreme in the creation, and that even the angels were made to do him honour. The story of the Fall is substantially like our own. The scene took place in a garden, and 'Satan caused them to forfeit Paradise, and turned them out of the state of happiness wherein they had been.' The forbidden fruit was the immediate cause of the Fall, and the sin of disobedience the first sin. Tradition supplies the rest of the narrative. Satan was not allowed to go into Paradise to tempt our first parents, therefore he begged of the animals to carry him in, but all refused except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth and so introduced him. It would also appear that Paradise was a kind of hanging garden somewhere amongst the clouds, for Adam and Eve 'dropped' from Paradise to this lower earth. Adam fell on Ceylon and Eve in Arabia, and, after wandering for a couple of centuries, they met again, and both retired to Ceylon, where they propagated their species. In Ceylon there is a spot called 'Adam's Peak,' and his footprint is to be seen to this day. However, the Buddhists aver the footprint in question to be Buddha's. Adam and Eve lived to a good old age, and were buried near

Jiddah, and the vast tomb, sixty cubits long and twelve wide, is to be seen to this day. There is no trace of the doctrine of 'original sin' in the Coràn.

"The Deluge.

11. "The record of the Deluge is also substantially taken from the book of Genesis. Some conversations which Noah held with the people of his day are recorded. He is called a preacher of righteousness, was accused of being a 'liar,' and that only the lowest people believed in his mission. Tradition makes him to be a carpenter by profession, and therefore it was considered somewhat easy for him to build the ark. Tradition has given the name of Noah's wife, Waila, about whom the Coràn says that she deceived her husband; and tradition supplies the information that whilst Noah was preaching, his wife said unto the people that her husband was distracted, and therefore they ought not to listen to his preaching. Then the story goes on: 'One said unto Noah, Carry into the ark of every species of animals one pair, and thy family (except him on whom a previous sentence of destruction hath passed), and those who believe.' Tradition tells us that the one exception was a son or grandson, called Canaan or Yam, who was an unbeliever. Waila, Noah's wife, is said also to have perished, and that Noah had another wife, who was saved. By the words 'those who believe' is meant 'his other wife, who was a true believer, his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and their wives, and seventy-two persons more.' The mountain on which the ark rested after the flood is called Al Judi, and it is in the neighbourhood of Armenia. Noah prayed very earnestly that God should have mercy on his unbelieving son, but God did not hearken unto his prayer. The great sin, according to Mahomet, for which God destroyed the world, was 'idolatry.'"

"CHARACTERS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.

12. "In the Coràn we meet with many characters whose original was the Old Testament. The Jews of Medina, or the converts from Judaism, probably gave their version of Old Testament history to the Prophet, and the Prophet took notes, which subsequently reappeared in the Coràn. Hence it is that we find many rabbinical glosses and traditions which disfigure the Coràn. Many of these additions are extremely

ludicrous. Some incidents are woefully mixed up. We propose to quote a few of these accretions. Abraham is brought before Nimrod because he despised idols, and by Nimrod's orders he is thrown 'into the burning pile;' but God said, 'O fire, be thou cold, and a preservation unto Abraham.' And it was so. In the history of Jacob we find that Joseph satisfies his father that he is still alive by sending him an inner garment of his, *the smell of which he recognises*, and this was the means of restoring the sight of Jacob (who is made to be blind before his time). In the history of Jacob we find also a most impudent anachronism, for he is made to cry out thus: 'The Creator of heaven and earth! Thou art my Protector in this world and in that which is to come: *make me to die a Moslem*, and join me with the righteous!' The twelfth sura, entitled 'Joseph,' gives a full account of the history of that patriarch. We should have liked to have given it in full, but there are several incidents that make it quite unfit for Western ears. It would appear that all the women of Egypt fell in love with him, 'and when they saw him, they praised him worthy, and they cut their own hands, and said, O God, this is not a mortal, he is no other than an angel deserving the highest respect.' The cutting their hands is explained by commentators in this way, that Potiphar's wife—who, by the by, is called Zoleikha—put knives into the women's hands that this accident should happen; whilst others believe that lovers in that country cut themselves to show their love. There is also another marvellous miracle related in this narrative, that the odour of the vest of Joseph was brought on the air from Egypt to Canaan!

13. "In the history of David we find some absurd statements, for when the sweet singer of Israel calls in poetical language on nature to praise God, Mahomet evidently took it *literally*, and he says, 'And we (God) compelled the mountains to praise us with David and the birds also!' Solomon has been connected with some fanciful tales, and we should bear in mind that all this is believed to be the inspired word of God! The Coràn informs us that God subjected a strong wind to Solomon, and 'it ran at his command.' The next is worse still: 'We also subjected to his command divers of the devils, who might dive to get pearls for him, and perform other work besides this!' Then we have this: 'We have been taught the speech of birds.' Later on we find how Mahomèt borrows from the Talmudists. We find this story. One day, whilst Solomon was marching with his army and troop of

genii (!), 'they came unto the valley of ants, and an ant, seeing the hosts approaching, said, O Ants, enter ye into your habitations, lest Solomon and his army tread you under foot, and perceive it not; and Solomon smiled, laughing at her words.' Then a conversation is recorded between a *lapwing* and Solomon, and the bird is made to recite the Mahometan formula, 'God! there is no God but He.' The Queen of Sheba is particularly described. Her name is said to have been Balkis. 'Her legs and feet were covered with hair like those of an ass' (we are informed by some Arab writers), and Solomon appears anxious about the matter. A most ludicrous trick is then described, hardly fit for reproduction. After this the Queen of Sheba confessed the true God, and became a believer. A 'depilation' is made use of to remove the 'ass hair,' and she, according to some commentators, became the wife of Solomon. We have said enough, we trust, to show the wonderful stories which have been interpolated with the sacred narrative. When the flood of light which science, education, and civilisation gives will burst on Mahometans, how quickly will this book be thrown aside!

14. "We now will mention another character, viz. Jonas, and would anybody unacquainted with our own narrative understand the story or be edified by it? It runs thus:—'Jonas was also one of those who were sent by us. When he fled into the laden ship, and those who were on board cast lots among themselves, and he was condemned; and the fish swallowed him, for he was worthy of reprehension. And if he had not been one of those who praised God, verily he had remained in the belly thereof until the day of resurrection. And we cast him on the naked shore, and he was sick, and we caused a plant of a gourd to grow up over him; and we sent him to an hundred thousand persons, or they were a greater number, and they believed, therefore we granted them to enjoy this life for a season.'"

15. It is an undoubted fact (says a writer who had carefully studied Oriental literature) that the ancient heathens borrowed their best things from Divine revelation, both as it refers to what was pure in their doctrines, and significant in their religious rites. Indeed, they seem in many cases to have studied the closest imitation possible, consistent with the adaptation of all to their preposterous and idolatrous worship. They had their I O A, or Jove, in imitation of the true

JEHOVAH ; and from different attributes of the Divine nature they formed an innumerable group of gods and goddesses. They had also their temples in imitation of the temple of God ; and in these they had their holy and more holy places, in imitation of the courts of the Lord's house. They had even their portable temples, to imitate the tabernacle erected in the wilderness, which was portable ; they had their arks or sacred coffers, where they kept their most holy things, and the mysterious emblems of their religion ; together with candlesticks or lamps, to illuminate their temples, which had few windows, to imitate the golden candlestick in the Mosaic tabernacle. They had even their processions in imitation of the carrying about of the ark in the wilderness, accompanied by such ceremonies as sufficiently show to an unprejudiced mind that they borrowed them from this sacred original. Tertullian asserts that all the ancient heathens borrowed their best notions from the sacred writings. "Which," says he, "of your poets, which of your sophists, have not drunk from the fountain of the prophets? It is from those sacred springs that your philosophers have refreshed their thirsty spirits ; and if they found anything in the Holy Scriptures which hit their fancy, or which served their hypothesis, they took and turned it to a compliance with their own curiosity, not considering those writings to be sacred and unalterable, nor understanding their true sense, every one altering them according to his own fancy."

16. Hinduism as a system of religion, as already observed, though corrupt to the very core, and its essential principles founded in error, yet it has some truths which are wrapped up in coverings, hid under a bushel by its teachers. There are found in the Hindu Scripture various circumstances and incidents, which lead one to the conclusion that they have been transferred from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in disguised and mutilated forms to their own religious writings, to suit their ideas and tastes. If we examine the common sayings of the people, we will be surprised to see what splendid religious ideas the Hindus have. Even the most ignorant women have proverbs that are full of the purest religion. Among the Hindus there are sayings to this effect: "He who would be

greatest shall be least." We cannot call this a humbug, because it is the saying of our Saviour, "Whosoever would be chief among you, let him be your servant." One ancient poet says, "Where you find a jewel in the dirt, pick up the jewel, but reject the dirt." So it is when we see beautiful truth, even when it is surrounded with dirt; let us receive and not reject it because there is a mixture of Hinduism in it.

17. The history of Harischandra-Raya is almost a counterpart of the history of Job. In the heaven of Indra there is an assembly of the gods, and Munies, and most meritorious sages. The question arises, "Whether there be a righteous prince on the face of the earth?" Vishvamitra asserts that there is not one. He is opposed by Vashishta, who declares he knows and he can prove that his disciple Harischandra is a prince in whom there is no fault, that he is a perfect, righteous man. In a terrible rage, with a haughty and imperious temper, like a fury, and more in the spirit of Satan than anything, Vishvamitra declares it is false, challenges his antagonist to the proof, and pledges to lose half of the merit which he has obtained, should he not succeed in showing to gods and to men that the declaration which Vashishta has made cannot be sustained. Let the gods forsake Harischandra, and let them deliver him into his hands, and he engages to show that this prince is unworthy the praise which has been bestowed upon him, and that he is frail and unrighteous as any of his brethren. Poor Harischandra becomes the victim of this controversy, and is delivered into the hands of this malignant and persecuting sage. The dreadful campaign commences. As though all the power of heaven and earth was committed to this diabolical agent, he assails the virtue of the prince by strong and numerous temptations, and he is foiled in one stratagem, only to commence another that will entwine his victim in his folds, and render him more secure. He reduces him to the most abject poverty, deprives him of his kingdom, drives him from his home and his subjects, covers the road upon which he and his wife and child are to travel with thorns and briars, to lacerate their feet and make their journey intolerable, compels him to sell his wife, and brings trouble and death

upon his son. Still the virtue of Harischandra is triumphant. His accuser cannot establish his charge. He makes him a gravedigger, and the prince labours at his occupation with as much diligence and zeal as when he administered the affairs of state. The mind of man cannot contemplate a more wretched and pitiable object than Harischandra in a graveyard, which is described as being hideous, frightful, and disgusting as the Gehenna of Judea, or as the Tartarus of Roman mythology. But the prince retains his integrity to the last. His accuser is confounded, and is obliged to confess his defeat. The gods themselves do honour to the virtue of the prince; Vishvamitra loses his stock of merit, and gives it to his antagonist, and Vashishta bequeaths it to Harischandra. And as a triumph to the ordeal through which he has passed, the king is reinstated upon his throne, his queen is restored to him, his son is raised to life; and as it was with Job, so it was with this Eastern prince, his latter end was better than his beginning.

18. In like manner, in the following extract from Professor M. Williams' *Hinduism*, we find evident reference in a disguised and distorted form to Abraham and his son Isaac:—

“King Harischandra had no son; he then prayed to Varuna, promising that if a son were born to him, he would sacrifice the child to the god. Then a son was born to him, called Rohita. When Rohita was grown up, his father one day told him of the vow he had made to Varuna, and bade him prepare to be sacrificed. The son objected to be killed, and ran away from his father's house. For six years he wandered in the forest, and at last met a starving Brahman. Him he persuaded to sell one of his sons, named Sunahsepha, for a hundred cows. This boy was bought by Rohita, and taken to Harischandra, and about to be sacrificed to Varuna as a substitute for Rohita, when, on praying to the gods with verses from the Veda, he was released by them.”

19. Bouddhism, which is the daughter of Hinduism, has its votaries as well in India and in the Colony. There was much in the character of Bouddha, the founder of the system, which was very noble. He left honours and happiness, and spent his life in self-denial and the search for wisdom; he bade his disciples “be perfect;” he was long an outcast and rejected of

men. In his teaching he propounded eight paths (termed the "Middle Path"—that is, much as we should say the "Narrow Way," or the path of righteousness). He named eight cardinal duties:—(1) Right Belief, (2) Right Livelihood, (3) Right Speech, (4) Right Actions, (5) Right Means of Livelihood, (6) Right Endeavours, (7) Right Mindfulness, (8) Right Meditation: Jesus Christ uttered eight Beatitudes. The life and doctrine of Gautama Bouddha are as faint shadows cast before the substantial realities of the life and doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ. Reading the legends of his early life, we cannot but think that the facts concerning the birth of Jesus Christ became known to the Bouddhist priests, and were by them transferred to the object of their devotion. The following extracts from the *Dhammapada*, or "Scripture Verses," are beautiful and instructive:—

- 61. As long as the sin bears no fruit,
The fool, he thinks it honey;
But when the sin ripens,
Then, indeed, he goes down into sorrow.
- 103. One may conquer a thousand thousand men in battle,
But he who conquers himself alone is the greatest victor.
- 121. Let no man think lightly of sin, saying in his heart,
"It cannot overtake me."
- 159. Let a man make himself what he preaches to others;
The well subdued may subdue others; one's self indeed is hard
to tame.
- 176. The man who has transgressed one law, and (speaks) lies,
And scoffs at the next world, there is no evil he will not do.
- 197. Let us live happily, then, not hating those who hate us!
Let us live free from hatred among men who hate!
- 223. Let a man overcome anger by kindness, evil by good;
Let him conquer the stingy by a gift, the liar by truth.
- 224. Let him speak the truth; let him not yield to anger;
Let him give when asked, even from the little he has!
By these three things he will enter the presence of the gods.
- 292. What ought to be done is neglected; what ought not to be done
is done.
Those who are proud and slothful, their (*asavos*) delusions increase.

354. The gift of the Law exceeds all gifts ;
 The sweetness of the Law exceeds all sweetness ;
 The delight of the Law exceeds all delight ;
 The extinction of thirst overcomes all grief.

The Eight (or rather Ten) Precepts of the Bouddha system are :—

1. One should not destroy life. 2. One should not take that which is not given. 3. One should not tell lies. 4. One should not become a drinker of intoxicating liquors. 5. One should refrain from unlawful sexual intercourse—an ignoble thing. 6. One should not eat unseasonable food at nights. 7. One should not wear garlands or use perfumes. 8. One should sleep on a mat spread on the ground. 9. One should abstain from dancing, music, singing, and stage plays. 10. One should abstain from the use of gold and silver.

The ten sins are divided thus :—

Three of the body—Taking life. Theft (taking what has not been given). Unlawful sexual intercourse.

Four of speech—Lying. Slander (includes “saying here what one hears there”). Abuse (swearing). Vain conversation.

Three of the mind—Covetousness. Malice. Scepticism.

20. Christianity is, however, the only true religion in the world. “Heathenism was the seeking religion ;” Muhammedanism, like “Judaism, the hoping religion ; but Christianity is the reality of what heathenism sought, and Judaism hoped for.” “Christianity proves itself, as the sun is seen, by its own light. Its evidence is involved in its existence.” “Christianity is not only a living principle of virtue in good men, but affords this further blessing to society, that it restrains the vices of the bad. It is a tree of life, whose fruit is immortality, and whose very leaves are for the healing of the nations.” Christianity stands alone in contrast to all other human systems. She is the daughter of the skies. Her native element is light and love. Her errand upon the earth is to enlighten, and bless, and save ; and when that errand shall be fully accomplished, she will return to dwell in her native

heavens. Experience has proved, and does still prove, that it is by Christianity or by the gospel alone that the heathen and Muhammedan Hindus in the Colony of British Guyana and elsewhere in the West Indies can be enlightened and reformed, and made to become "partakers of the Divine nature," "partakers of the heavenly calling," "partakers of Christ's sufferings," and "partakers of the glory that shall be revealed." Though the East Indian Immigrants speak different languages, and have been educated to different habits, and have been conversant with different religious rites, and indeed have scarcely anything in common with us but human nature, still they and we belong to the same great human family; and we cannot neglect them but at the expense of incurring His displeasure who hath said, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Reader! put yourself, for once, in that pagan's stead; and imagine the darkness that rests upon his prospects to rest upon yours, and the debasement and wretchedness which enter into his lot to be the leading elements in your own; imagine yourself educated under pagan influences, and bound with the cords of pagan superstition, and looking forward with suspense and horror to a pagan's grave;—and then say what ought to be the measure of your brother's charity toward you; and let the answer which conscience dictates guide you in respect to your duty towards him. I repeat, he *is* your brother, though the ocean rolls between him and you; and though he shall never meet you on earth, yet if, through your neglect, he is left to perish, take heed lest he should meet you in the judgment as your accuser. In their own country, as has been said before, they have been kept down, and the knowledge of the truth had been hidden from them, by the wholesale soul-destroying Brahmans. They had never heard, nor had been taught to know, that there is a holy God, who is a Spirit; that they are sinners in His sight; accountable creatures, in danger of hell; that Jesus Christ had died to save them; that unless they are born again they cannot see the kingdom of God. And God evidently has in His infinite wisdom and providence permitted these Hindus to sojourn in British Guyana, the land

of Bibles, Sabbaths, and a Christian ministry, in order that during their exile they may become acquainted with the truth of the holy gospel, by daily coming into contact with those who love and fear God; and carry back the same truths, and preach them to their benighted countrymen, like the primitive Christians. At this present time, the languishing cry of, "No man careth for my soul," seems to come ringing into our ears in every direction:—

"Hark! what mean those lamentations,
Rolling through the distant sky?
'Tis the cry of heathen nations,
'Come and help us, or we die.'
Hark the heathen's sad complaining:
Christians, hear their dying cry;
And the love of Christ constraining,
Join to help them ere they die."

"Alas! shall we, who from our earliest youth,
Have learn'd the lessons of eternal truth,
Who, whilst we live, and when we come to die,
Can on a Saviour's mercy safe rely,—
Shall we a base example dare to show
To those thus deeply sunk in vice or woe;
Excuses furnish to their untaught mind
For living on, to true religion blind?
Oh no! if we have learned to hope and pray,
Point we to them the right, the better way;
And by our works of faith, make plain the road
That leads the erring soul thro' Christ to God."

A good work *may* and *can be done* among the heathen of British Guyana by Christian missionaries, but for want of funds and help the work is suffering dreadfully at present. The gospel is being preached to the heathen in different parts of the Colony—on the sugar estates, in the hospitals, under trees, and wherever two or three people are gathered together. I ask for your help, your sympathy, and your prayer. I ask you not to carry on the work as the rich family, who paid ten dollars a month for the support of a dog, and fifty per cent. less for the support of mission work; but I ask you, dear reader, to throw your whole heart and energies into the matter, and help

on the good work, and thus be the means of leading the heathen and Muhammedan Hindus to Him who loved and gave Himself for them. God in His Word and in His providences has revealed and established two leading modes of spreading the tidings of salvation to perishing sinners of distant lands. The first is to send the gospel to them in heathen lands by His ambassadors; and the second is to send the heathen to the gospel in Christian lands, by His providences, as is the case in the Colony. The Indian and Chinese coolies have been brought to the shores of British Guyana, in order that during their sojourn they might come into contact with European ingenuity and energy, which will knock overboard all their national pride and prejudice, and almost imperceptibly, as by a ground swell, be borne up on the tide of European civilisation. In the Colony the heathen are learning, and will yet learn more perfectly, to discriminate between the mere subjects of Christian nations, and the Christians in fact; and the missionary has at once the advantage of a living exemplification of Christianity in every department of business and social life to set before his heathen brother. Being altogether short-handed or single-handed, I cannot overtake the work that presses upon me. If I had agents, I could do a great deal more than is being done. Still something has been done: the standard of the Cross has been uplifted, and Christ has been preached. People have heard the Word, and in some cases gladly. The good seed is being sown. It falls into all kinds of soil; but the thirty, or sixty, or hundred-fold yield shall not be wanting on the harvest day. May the Lord hasten it!

CHAPTER XVI.

THE JUBILEE OF EMANCIPATION OR FREEDOM, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE MORAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE CREOLE OR COLOURED PEOPLE OF THE COLONY.

1. In the preceding pages of this book, I have, in connection with the religious systems of the East Indian Immigrants, not failed to point out the foibles, the characteristic eccentricities, and the excellencies of both the Creole and Indian races in their religious and daily walk, life, and conversation. Possibly some of my readers in the Colony may be inclined to take exceptions thereto on personal grounds, and yet I am sure they will not altogether condemn or blame me for the extreme faithfulness of the portraiture therein given. The readers, whatever their qualification, will find much to both interest and instruct them, and will find in this book information with which they were hitherto not acquainted. And now, in bringing this book to a close, I desire to draw the reader's attention to a most interesting event which has recently taken place in the Colony, and indeed throughout the British West Indian Islands. The celebration of this joyful event will form a remarkable epoch in the history of the Colony. The year of our Lord 1888, and the fifty-second year of our gracious Queen Victoria's reign, will be a memorable period to all Englishmen and West Indian Creoles.

2. Simultaneous with the Fiftieth Anniversary of Freedom, celebrated with great joy and gladness — *éclat* — by the descendants of the old African slaves, on Wednesday, August 1st, which, by the kindness of His Excellency the Governor, Lord Gormanston, was by a special ordinance declared a public holiday, another remarkable event in connection with the agricultural interests of the Colony of British Guyana

should have been observed. The event I refer to is the introduction of agricultural labourers or coolies from the East Indies, or the establishment of a system of Immigration from the great Empire of India. In the interests of the Colony the event celebrated should be named "THE JUBILEE OF EMANCIPATION AND IMMIGRATION." When the African slave trade was, in 1808, partially closed, slaves were still in limited numbers introduced into the Colony, but the exact number thus introduced cannot now be told. However, in the year 1817 they numbered 101,712 slaves in the Colony. During the interval between 1817 and August 1, 1834 (about seventeen years), some 8888 slaves evidently appear to have passed away from the scene of hard and cruel bondage, and from the clutches of their inhuman masters or owners. On the 1st of August 1834 the total number of slaves in the Colony amounted to 82,824, on which compensation was claimed by the money-loving and money-grasping slave-owners, though a great deal more than the whole amount in specie demanded by them had been got out of these poor, innocent, miserable, and helpless sufferers, in the shape of uninterrupted continuous toil on the sugar and other estates, for which work they received only the cat-o'-nine-tails and other deeds of cruelty for wages. When in the year 1838 all the then existing slaves in the British West Indian Islands and in the Colony of British Guyana were to be finally and for ever emancipated or set free from further annoyances and risks to their life, family, and property, an attempt, as a tentative experiment, was made by the proprietors of sugar estates, in conjunction with the Government, to import foreign labourers from the East Indies. About 400 persons from India, who arrived in the Colony in 1838, found ready employment on the sugar estates. This was the beginning of a system of Immigration which has been continued till now, with the exception of a brief interruption between 1849 and 1850, on account of some political difficulties in the Colony. There is no denying the fact that the East Indian Immigrants have, in a certain sense, been the saviours of the Colony. It is laughable, sometimes, when disturbances happen between the native black and the Indian

coolie, to hear the latter, in return to taunts heaped upon him, say, "Yes, you rascal neegah man : me come from India dis forty-sikus year ; 'sposin' me and me matty no come dis side fo' work, you rascal neegah been a starve one time." In this Jubilee year of Emancipation, so very recently celebrated by the Creoles of Afric descent, among whom and others I have many valuable and trustworthy friends, my friendly advice to the humbler and labouring classes of them is, not to look upon the East Indian Immigrants as their enemies, but rather as their friends, and as those belonging to the one common brotherhood. It may be considered a hard thing to forgive those who have done us harm or grievous injury, and be at peace with them ; but these Immigrants have not done the Creoles any harm by their coming, or rather by their being brought from their distant home, India, to live in their midst, and to work alongside them in the same canefield or on the same estate, to obtain a living by it for themselves and their families. They have not come to the Colony to supplant the natives out of their rights and privileges : they are rather come to help them, and in due course of time to become one with them. They are a friendly disposed people, and have not in any way or in any instance whatever offered them any insult, or done any injury to seek forgiveness at their hands. And yet, as the feeling of jealousy and enmity on the part of the labouring Creoles is daily seen, I pray that as those enjoying the blessings of the gospel of peace they will endeavour to follow peace with these Immigrants and others of their own blood and kin, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord, and cultivate a spirit of unity, of confidence, of love, and be at peace amongst themselves. May this year 1888, with the joyful celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of freedom on August 1st, prove to be one of great happiness and prosperity to all succeeding generations of the Indian and Creole races of British Guyana.

3. Regarding the Jubilee celebration itself by all classes of Creoles on the 1st of August, which was a fine day, the editor of the *Royal Gazette* (the oldest paper in the whole Colony) very justly remarks in his issue of August 3 (Friday) :—

"The great event, in anticipation of which the minds have been stirred and the enthusiasm aroused of a large section of our community for some time, is now a thing of the past. The Jubilee of Emancipation is a memory and a record. It affords us pleasure to know and feel that the celebration as a memory is untinged with any blot and devoid of aught on which the recollection of any of us would not care to dwell. As a record, it redounds to the honour and credit of our black and coloured citizens, who have shown themselves capable of great and, in many respects, unexpected things. A prominent characteristic of the celebration in this our capital city was the absence of extravagance. Indeed, throughout, everything was conducted with befitting solemnity, and a marked recognition of the importance of the occasion. The thanksgiving services with which the Jubilee commenced were everywhere largely attended, and the sermons delivered to the assembled multitudes were each and all of a high order. Especial interest attached to that in the metropolitan church, at which the preacher was one of the race most directly and intimately concerned in the commemoration."

It is not my intention to place before my readers a full and lengthy account of all that had been done in connection with this joyful event: that may be obtained from a work which is in course of preparation. My object at present is simply to touch upon some interesting facts connected with our Creole races. But, before proceeding to do so, I may here observe that in connection with this Jubilee celebration rather a strange and remarkable coincidence has occurred, which has escaped the notice of the friends and foes of the Creole races of African descent. The coincidence I refer to is the circumstance of His Majesty King JA JA, of Opobo, for some imaginary political offence against the British Government in Africa, being banished to the West Indies, and who now resides in St. Vincent. On the solemn assurances of Mr. Hewitt and Mr. Johnson, the British Consuls, King Ja Ja was arrested, sent on to the Gold Coast, where he was tried, and declared a State prisoner, and now banished miles away from his home. Whilst the Creole African descendants were keeping up their Jubilee of Freedom in the British West Indian Islands and in British Guyana, not very far from them was

one, in whose veins runs the royal blood, kept a prisoner or held in captivity for insubordination. The young prince, "SUNDAY JA JA," who accompanied his royal father to St. Vincent, has now left his father and gone to England to study law. Referring to this State prisoner, the *Grenada People*, of June 7th, 1888, says :—

"King Ja Ja, of Opobo, banished to the West Indies, has been guilty of no offence. His exile from home is due simply to the land-grabbing propensities of the British, and to the weakness of the king. Treacherously inveigled from home, he was kidnapped and shipped away, after his trade had been ruined, and his people impoverished. Had Russia, in her dealings with some Central Asian tribe, been guilty of such dastardly conduct, the whole English world would have rung with the indignant protests against the rapacity and injustice of the Muscovite. But rapacity and injustice, practised by Britain on a semi-civilised African potentate, using his power to protect his subjects and to promote their civilisation, is too insignificant an occurrence to be reprobated and denounced by the English public opinion. It is these raids on the African by the European which has kept Africa so dark ; it is these acts of tyranny and injustice—the preying of the strong upon the weak—that has retarded the civilisation of Africa, and forced her people to distrust the white man and fly the religion which he professes. How can the ignorant African become a convert to Christianity, or believe in the gospel messages, when the lives of the men and the nations who preach Christianity are so entirely at variance with the elements of truth and justice ? When the rude intellect of a powerful semi-savage chieftain, who, to save his people from the demoralization which is the inevitable result of the first contact of the semi-barbarians with the civilised whites, decreed that Christianity should not be taught in his dominions, he showed at once his distrust of the white man and desire to save his people, who were valiant warriors, from sinking into mere sottish barbarians. Christianity, he thought, was a religion of rum and lies. It is in this light the nations of Europe, and especially the Englishman, present the religion of Jesus Christ to the nations of Africa. Is it any wonder that they have not yet been Christianized ?"

4. His Excellency Lord Gormanston, when formally opening the Industrial or People's Exhibition on the day of Jubilee

celebration, made the following remarks, which require the careful consideration of all parties concerned :—

“ It is a great event, that deserves to be celebrated not only by the descendants of the Africans whose forefathers were originally carried from their country to slavery ; but it deserves to be commemorated also by the white men, for fifty years ago slavery was swept away, so far as Great Britain was concerned ; and naturally those who are descendants of the great African race have a right to remember they became free in the eyes of the law, as they had previously been in the eyes of Almighty God. But while we say that slavery was a curse,—and no doubt it was,—there is another point of view. Those descended from the great African race who are here, should look upon it, and, if I may so express it, congratulate themselves that slavery did at one time exist. For all those here and all those in the West Indies must remember that, had it not been for the institution of slavery, the probabilities are that they would have remained as the people of the present day in Africa are, without any sense of religion. They should remember that in consequence of their having been carried away from their own country, they have received the inestimable gift of Christianity from one sect or another.”

I am no advocate of slavery, or anything else akin to it, as it existed in the West Indies during the early part of this present century. I would recommend my readers to peruse the pages of *Death Struggles of Slavery*, by the late Rev. H. Bleby. Oh ! it is too horrible to think of a slave—a freeborn subject in his own country—to be decoyed or entrapped by subtle or foul means, and carried away against his will to a distant or foreign country, and there be exposed for sale in the open market. One's whole manhood rises up in rebellion against the very idea ; and no one could have blamed the poor wretch if, under such humiliating circumstances, he had manifested resistance on the occasion. But the poor guileless ancestors of the present race of Creoles were entirely powerless, they being deprived of any possible means of self-defence ere they left their native home for the West Indian slave-markets. If Tell was a hero because he fought against the tyranny of Austria, and Bruce because he struggled against the oppression of England, and Washington because he

rebelled against the injustice of Great Britain,—is not the slave also a hero who struggles for his personal liberty? For God has given him to himself, and no mortal on earth has any right to him as a chattel. If the soldier who helps an oppressed people is to be honoured, so must a man be honoured who uses all possible efforts to help a poor slave out of the hands of the inhuman and merciless owner, and sets him free. I am not one of the upholders of the wicked system which robbed more than four millions of men and women of all the rights of humanity, and doomed them and their offspring through perpetual generations to the same hopeless bondage and oppression; nor do I believe that slavery, as it existed in the West Indies or anywhere else, was or is a Divine institution (as some say that it is); for if it be so, I may as well believe that the practice of polygamy, though tolerated and practised by the ancients as well as the moderns in various parts of the world, is a Divine institution; but I do honestly believe that when the poor wretches are by unprincipled “men-stealers” (who are in the Holy Book ranked with a host of other unholy, wicked, dishonest, and cruel characters) kidnapped and brought away from their homes, and sold as slaves, their duty is to acquiesce in it as the permissive will of God concerning them, as was the case with Joseph and others, and continue to keep fast hold of God’s hand in their captivity or bondage, and do their best in that which is open to them till deliverance comes. If the doctrine of the upholders of slavery as a Divine institution be true, and the whole matter of the disposal of the emancipated slaves in 1838 had been left in their hands, the Jubilee of Freedom in all probability (humanly speaking, of course), celebrated on the first day of August 1888, would never have occurred. As it was, when the subject of emancipating the slaves was freely talked about several years ago, the enemies of freedom—the Divine institutionists—predicted that the era of emancipation would be marked by anarchy and rebellion, and the slaves would no sooner be made free than they would combine and rise against their former owners or masters, and seek to be revenged for their wrongs by acts of cruelty and

blood. The evil or wicked prophets, however, prophesied falsely ; and so there has been a regular succession of false prophets and evil-disposed persons from Jeremiah's time to the present, who never see any good in any one but in themselves, and who look upon every movement for the amelioration of the people with a prejudiced eye, and have never a good word to say of those who, in their estimation, may appear somewhat inferior to them in position. However valuable the united efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society and the eloquent pleadings of Wilberforce, Clarkson, Buxton, Lushington, and others were, it is to the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, as preached by the missionaries of the different (especially the Baptist, London Missionary, and Wesleyan Methodist Church) denominations, who prepared the way for the great and glorious change in the civil condition of the people, and actually raised the slaves to the status of men and brethren, that the natives of the Colony, of Afric descent, were enabled to keep up their Jubilee celebration in the way they have done. I cannot believe that the wholesale robbery of human beings from the sunny regions of Africa, to supply the West Indian labour market, and thus enrich the wicked and unprincipled slave-dealer and slave-holder, was in keeping with the teaching of the Word of God or in accordance with the Divine mind. I cannot believe that because the descendants of the Africans, or of any other race of people of a darker hue, have not been favoured with a fair complexion, as some of their fellow-men of a milder or colder clime are, they are to be treated with insult, wrong, and injustice, and be subjected to many painful and degrading disabilities ; but I do believe that—

“ All men are equal in their birth,
Heirs of the earth and skies ;
All men are equal when that earth
Fades from their dying eyes.”—*Anon.*

“ There is but one race o'er all the earth ;
Men are one in death, and one in birth :
And the God they serve is One.
Who the sayings of old time revere,
And in virtue firmly persevere,
Are inferior to none.”—*Agaval* (Hindu work).

5. Analogies or comparisons have been drawn by different preachers of the gospel and writers of books (who somewhat regret the abolition of slavery), between slavery of the Bible and that which existed in the West Indies and the Colony of British Guyana a little more than fifty years ago; but on careful examination and comparison, we notice a vast difference between the two. I here place before my readers an extract from the editorial in the *Argosy* of Saturday, August 4, 1888. I make no comment, for it speaks for itself, and the readers will be able to form an opinion of their own in regard to the spirit in which it is written :—

“We have purposely left to the last any mention of what by many persons would naturally be considered as one of the most interesting features, if not the chief feature, of an exhibition in celebration of emancipation from slavery,—relics and mementoes of slavery, of the treatment of slaves, and of the customs and usages of the time, highly interesting as illustrations of the moral tone and mental fibre of the era; for here ’twas but an era. The danger to be guarded against in such exhibitions is the drawing of general conclusions from circumstances most likely to be commemorated on account of their exceptional character,—mere excrescences, so to say, on the surface of the system, rather than genuine evidence of its intrinsic immorality. For our own part, we strongly suspect that, like the devil, slavery was not, as the Rev. Mr. Ritchie reminded his hearers at St. Andrew’s Church on Wednesday, half so black or so bad as it is painted, at least in some cases; and that there is probably good reason why some of the ‘old-time’ people look back with hankering regret to the peacefulness and quietude of their lives when, like other beasts of burden, they were ‘well fed, well housed, and well cared for, to keep them in health, and all thinking was done for them; when, like flowers of the field, they need have no thought for the morrow, their bodies being their masters’, and of immortal souls, or of a future state, they had no conception. But these things are beyond our ken. Be it as it may, there was nothing very dreadful among the exhibits, if we except a few of what we are compelled to regard as flagrant caricatures of the treatment of slaves in Surinam (always confessedly worse than here), copied chiefly (as we learn from Mr. Rodway) from Stothard’s *Surinam* and Edwards’s *West Indies*:

The hanging of live slaves from hooks stuck in their ribs was, we imagine, never had recourse to except in the case of captured runaways or raiding "bush negroes," who occasionally made attacks on the estates. Still, there were some rather formidable instruments said to have seen service in this Colony. The ancient stocks from Klien Pouderoyen were apparently not more rigorous than those which the Commissioners of Inquiry, in 1870, found in use in some of the estate hospitals, for the correction of insubordinate coolies, and for preventing malingers from scratching their sores, thereby to escape work. But the iron brand, with the letters 'K. P.' in bold relief, from the same estate, was painfully suggestive that in the slave days human creatures were treated much the same as cattle are in ours. It is some satisfaction to be told that branding was practised only in the case of recovered runaways; but that may be doubted. It would manifestly be equally useful in all cases, and would, if employed at all, require to be repeated every time a slave changed masters, or his masters changed him. A medal presented to Mr. J. Bagot, manager of Huis t'Dieren, by the Royal Agricultural Society of Essequibo in 1829, 'for judicious and successful treatment of the infants born on that estate,' is suggestive that successful slave-raising was, even less than sixty years ago, regarded in much the same light and rewarded with the same honours as successful cattle-breeding is to-day. A manumission paper of an unborn infant of a slave woman, of whichever sex it might prove to be, also throws a lurid sidelight on the relations of employers with their prædials. Obviously, the putative father did not wish his child to be born a slave; but whether its manumission before birth, without the manumission of the mother also, would be legal, we are not prepared to say."

The state and condition and the mysterious disappearance of the 8888 slaves in British Guyana between 1817 and 1834, who had experienced the dark deeds of cruelty and bloodshed, are only chronicled by the recording angel for revelation when all secrets shall be disclosed. I do not for one single moment deny or disbelieve the fact that the ancestors of the present Creole race, by coming, or by being brought, to the West Indies or British Guyana, received "the inestimable gift of Christianity." The old Africans, at some period of their

slavish life, were Christianized, or rather, after a fashion, baptized (BRANDED), without religious instruction, and thus all their children were made nominal Christians, though deprived of the privileges of the Church. But from whom, from what class of Christian ministers did the ancestors of the present Creole race mostly derive or receive "the inestimable gift of Christianity"? Whilst in a state of slavery, the negroes were strictly forbidden admission into any of the Christian sanctuaries, and were never by their masters allowed to receive religious or spiritual instruction from any Christian minister or teacher. The Rev. J. R. Moore, already referred to in this chapter, in a sermon preached by him in the Anglican Pro-Cathedral on August 1st, with touching modesty, amongst other things, said: "In Berbice, years ago, there was a certain place of worship:

'NEGROES AND DOGS ARE NOT PERMITTED TO ENTER HERE,'

was the motto for that place of worship in Berbice. They felt shocked, not humiliated; but they must look with pity on the state of mind which could dictate such a motto. However, times are changed. That church and its affairs are conducted by descendants of the despised negroes." Indeed, some of the parsons declared that they had not come to preach to the negroes, but to the white, who were then the gods of the people in bondage. Thus the negro population was left uncared for for many a year. "I looked on my right hand, and beheld, but there was no man" [Christian minister or teacher] "that would know me; . . . no man cared for my soul" (Ps. cxlii. 4), was the cry of thousands of slaves in those days of darkness and iniquity. The missionary and lay agents of the London Missionary and Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Societies were the men and means by whom and by which a large number of slaves were taught to know something about God, Jesus Christ, and their souls. The minds of men and women became enlightened in regard to the truth of Christianity, by the preaching and teaching of these servants of the living and true God. And I do not hesitate to say, that to the self-denying and earnest labours of the agents of

these two Societies principally, may be attributed the present position, elevated condition, morally, socially, and religiously, of the negro and coloured races in the Colony. It is true that, in 1823, Parliament directed circular letters to be sent to all Governors of Colonies requiring certain measures in regard to slavery. Religious and secular instruction and education were to be given to the slaves, and they were not to work on Sundays, and marriages were to be legalized, families were not to be separated by sale, and females were not to be flogged, etc.; but several years before this the Wesleyan and London Missionary agents were among the slaves, instructing them and otherwise doing them good by elevating them morally, religiously, and socially, and making them feel that they were human beings and not beasts of burden.

6. His Excellency Lord Gormanston's statement, "that had it not been for slavery, the probabilities are that they [the descendants of the African slaves] would have remained as the people of the present day in Africa are, without any sense of religion," is fully confirmed by the fact that to-day the Africans form the bulk of the congregation in every Christian sanctuary in the Colony; they are more regular communicants, far more regular, than their European brethren. I am a great believer in the providence of God, in the overruling providence of God; and providence is not fatalism. I believe also that "every man's life is a plan of God." If I repudiate God's providence I shall deserve to be ranked with the *stupid fool*, who, according to that scathing utterance of the Psalmist, "hath said in his heart, There is no God." Centuries ago, one who had been carried away from his home and friends, and publicly sold as a slave in the slave-market of Egypt, fully believing in the overruling providence of God, said unto his brethren when they found themselves in his presence, "Ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good." Just as the providence of God was in and over every incident of Joseph's life and career, and making them all co-operate for the bringing about of the great design which He had for the deliverance of the people in famine, for the education of the children of Israel in Egypt, and for the unification of them

at length into a nation capable of taking possession of the Land of Promise,—Canaan,—so the coming of the ancestors of the present Creole race to Guyana and the West Indian Islands and elsewhere was turned into spiritual good for them, and was the means of Christianity being made known to them. Men of science have clearly pointed out the wonderful arrangements in nature by which insects and flowers are drawn together, so that the properties or ends of the vegetable world might be carried out. The bloom is furnished with a nectary or honey-cell, painted with brilliant hues, enriched with sweet fragrance, and shaped in a particular way, in order to attract distant bees or insects, by whose agency the plant may be fertilized and made to produce seed. In like manner are the providential arrangements by which God brings together the soul and the Saviour; the means by which a man may be brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus and the man himself. These two leading modes of spreading the tidings of salvation to perishing sinners are clearly indicated in the Word of God. The first mode is to send the gospel to the heathens in their own lands by God's ambassadors; and the second mode is to send the heathens to the gospel in Christian lands by God's providences, as *was* the case with the ancestors of the Creole races, and as *is* the case with the East Indian Immigrants *now* in the Colony. The Lord has permitted the Asiatics to come to the shores of British Guyana in order that from the mouths and holy lives of professing Christian Creoles they may learn to love and serve the same Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as the only living and true God. Without intending any reflections upon other nations, I may in truth say that Great Britain takes a leading and active part in building the walls of Zion. With her is pre-eminently deposited the gospel of Christ, and this one, among other things, marks her out as a chosen instrument to take the most active part in its wide diffusion in all the Colonies in every quarter of the globe, and among the millions of the heathen under the control of her salutary power. Britain, I truly believe, is to be heaven's almoner; and Providence daily opens the way amongst the nations for the distribution of

heaven's bounty—that wherever British influence is felt, British Christianity in its purest form may also be enjoyed. As British Christian subjects, therefore, it becomes the duty of the Creole races to preach “Christ and Him crucified” to the heathen who have come to dwell in their land, by their holy life, walk, and conversation, and thus be made a great or real blessing to these strangers.

7. His Excellency Lord Gormanston in his opening speech further remarked :—

“Mr. Forshaw has stated, and stated very truly, that now every career is open to the descendants of the Africans. So it is, and so it has been for the last fifty years. Perhaps the progress that has been made within the last fifty years has not been anything like as large as Wilberforce and other great men of that day expected it would be. Let us hope that the ensuing fifty years, which but few amongst us, I fear, will see, may show forth greater progress. I think, as Mr. Forshaw said, that an exhibition of this kind is calculated to do an immense deal of good. It shows the people what can be done; and very many of the descendants of the Africans require a stimulus. They will not take it unkindly from me when I say that many do not labour as hard as they might do. There is a great deal, remember, in the climate. But that is not the way to get on in life. If people want to get on they must work hard. People may think it very easy of me to speak, under a misconceived idea of the lightness of my duties. I wish those people saw the weary hours that I spend at work. It may not be manual labour, but it is labour as hard as manual labour.”

The Rev. Mr. Moore, in like manner in his sermon, with touching modesty alluded to this very fact as one among many proofs that the bars to the progress and advancement of his race in the Colony are now removed, and at the same time he unsparingly pointed out the main failings which, as a race, the African element of our society must overcome. Considering all the adverse circumstances in which the natives of the Colony have been placed for a number of years since the emancipation of their fathers and grandfathers, there has been steady and marked progress in the present race of Creoles in

a social, moral, and religious point of view. A little more than fifty years ago (several in the Colony are still living who have told me of these things) men with a dusky skin, however intelligent, were excluded from the jury-box; a black man dared not raise his hand to strike a white man in self-defence; his word would never be believed, and his evidence against a white man would never be taken in a court of justice. Negrophobists or colourophobists there were in those days who declared that they could always detect the African blood in the face of a man or woman, however fair in appearance, or however far removed from his or her original condition. There is quite a change in the Colony in regard to these disabilities. The feeling of prejudice, resulting from the abominable system of slavery, when lying, fraud, cruelty, and oppression on the part of the slave-owners were considered virtues, is considerably modified, and indeed is dying out. The present generation of Creoles is vastly superior and more intelligent than the generations past. Parsons, lawyers, doctors, magistrates, schoolmasters, book-keepers, mechanics, tradesmen, etc., etc., have been seen rising up from time to time within the last fifty years. The Colony has experienced mighty changes, morally, socially, and religiously, and only those who are bent upon making "the almighty dollar," and then leave the "cursed, d—— country, and d—— niggers," can't see, and will not see, the rapid improvement and changes for good in the condition of the people. Those who have lived long in the Colony, and know something of its past, are truly astonished to see how rapidly the peasantry, from a state of comparative ignorance and barbarism, have raised themselves to that of political civilisation and moral and religious improvement in so short a time as fifty years. Yes, during the last ten years changes have taken place in the city of Georgetown, and indeed throughout the Colony, which prove that the natives are determined to push ahead, and keep pace with time, making good use of the privileges and advantages they have within their reach. Three-fourths of the coloured classes in the Colony, among whom a good many have attained to high and respectable positions in life, are indeed a credit

to themselves and to those who have to do with them. If they are in no way superior to the same classes of people in England, they are not in any way inferior to them. The better and more respectable classes of the coloured people of the Colony are men and women worthy of respect and full confidence. They have, step by step, fought their way through all difficulties and oppositions, and made themselves to be what they are to-day—all by dint of perseverance, and by the observance of that simple rule, "Learn to labour and to wait." The want of wealth and influence is the great drawback in the Colony of the respectable and intelligent coloured classes, and not the want of natural ability, cultivated talent, or refined manners. In some cases such talent has been injuriously exuberant, or, like the neglected flower, has been forced to spread its fragrance without appreciation and to no purpose. Offices of trust, responsibility, and emolument, which they are quite able to fill with honour and distinction to themselves, and with benefit to society and the world, are too often given to, or filled by, incompetent, inexperienced Europeans (who have in many cases to be taught, or get the work done for them by the very man whom they in their heart dislike because of their acknowledged superiority, and whom they try to keep down), because of the wealth and influence in certain quarters which they have brought, or can still bring, to bear on the realization of their wishes; and yet, after a hard struggle, and disappointment after disappointment, by their own persevering efforts, men of this stamp have raised themselves. There are gentlemen in the Colony who have thus raised themselves, but I will not mention names. The people of colour, of any pretensions to intelligence and respectability, repudiate former modes and habits of uncleanness, and initiate their children into a more refined and Christian manner of life. Respectable coloured gentlemen generally marry their equals in point of intellect and character. The fact is, a just and honourable ambition has, since Freedom, for a long time fired the coloured classes to be as well qualified for society, or for business, as are the whites, who have long monopolized every situation of any emolument or influence. If sometimes

a Christian minister has to deplore the degraded and depraved condition of some in the Colony, and feel the absolute necessity there is of Christian teaching, influence, and effort, in order to overcome and destroy everything that stands opposed to God and to holiness, he has only to look to England or Great Britain, the Jerusalem of the Christian nations, where a large—perhaps a larger—number of men and women, with all the advantages they possess, are to be found in a far lower state of moral degradation than even in British Guyana. The gospel, which has done so much good to the classes here described, is, and will still continue to be, the only panacea for all the moral, mental, and social evils existing in the Colony and elsewhere. I may state here that concubinage most unfortunately prevails in the Colony. Just as every overseer or manager of a sugar estate who is unmarried, and just as every other person from Europe who is single, keeps his mistress or “housekeeper” to look after him, etc., so the black Creole has his mistress living with him. The influence of such an iniquitous system and example, on the part of the European, must necessarily be pernicious on the peasantry. The coolie or East Indian females, on the different sugar estates and elsewhere, now play the part that the black females did during and down to a recent period, since the abolition of slavery. In some instances, females of the lower orders have been heard to taunt their antagonists with “me da married lady.” There seems to be a great deal more immorality practised by the Europeans who come to the Colony than by natives themselves. The results of such a life are seen everywhere; and yet these are the very persons who cry down the people and make them worse than they really are, and speak of them as being the most immoral set of beings in the world. The peasantry have been declared to be dishonest persons, charged with housebreaking, robberies, etc. If the descendants of the African race are prone to dishonesty, the culpability lies with the party who introduced slavery into the Colony, and then retained it. One of the faculties of mind is to reflect. The Creole, though sunk in ignorance, can still draw inferences and conclusions. The

English newspapers, received per every mail, teem with police news, in which robberies, housebreaking, murders, etc. etc., have been tried. The natives know nothing whatever of English educated and finished pickpocketing. In the Colony, as well as in other parts of the West Indies, notorious and gross acts of dishonesty have been committed in certain departments of business, commercial or government, but the preponderance of such misdemeanours can never be attributed to the coloured races; and yet these traduced sons of Africa are never permitted to share in the emoluments which others have misappropriated. To all the Creole young men of the Colony, I say, be not discouraged and sink into despair, and imagine that the world is in league against you, but rather "learn to labour and to wait" patiently. I do not, however, deny the fact that among all the classes of people there have been sometimes serious blunders and blemishes very noticeable, but then these are mere reverses of fortune, for which they cannot be held responsible. The way of preferment and the opportunity of one raising himself in the Colony in public esteem and position is never permanently closed against any man. "Every career is open to the descendants of the Africans. So it is and so it has been for the last fifty years." If one does not get on in life, he has to blame himself. "Remember," observes the Rev. Thomas Binney, "that to do as well as ever you can what happens to be the only thing within your power to do, is the best and surest preparation for higher service. Should things go against you, never give way to debilitating depression, but be hopeful, brave, courageous, careful not to waste in vain and unavailing regret the power you will need for endurance and endeavour. Learn well your business, whatever it be; make the best of every opportunity for acquiring any sort of knowledge that may enlarge your acquaintance with the business in general, and enable you to take advantage of any offer or opening that may come." You may not be able to raise yourself to the position of a clerk to be employed in any of the offices or stores in Water Street, Georgetown, or New Amsterdam, Berbice, for the supply of clerks is far ahead of the demand; many are not employed

at all, and those who are do not receive anything like an adequate salary, because their places can be supplied any day by others who will take less than they are receiving. You may not be fortunate enough to obtain or secure for yourself a respectable Government post to bring you a decent income; therefore, however poor or humble the position may be in life, and however menial the work in which you may engage, determine, by God's grace helping you, to excel in it. Do not be ashamed to be engaged in any lawful work or calling, by which you may gain your livelihood and an honourable position among your brethren and fellow-men. If you can work at a good trade, do not for a moment think such a handicraft beneath you. Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, was a tentmaker; and a greater than Paul wrought at the carpenter's bench in Nazareth. Do not be foolish in following the thoughtless people who look down on trades and tradesmen. It was a wise law among the Jews,—and in my native home, when I was quite a youngster, I used to hear people say,—that every boy should learn a trade of some kind as a necessary duty of his life, which, when he is of age, he might follow, or abandon it for something better. If my Creole friends, black and coloured, would only take these hints I have carelessly and loosely thrown out, and be steady and regular in their work, whether as tradesmen or ordinary labourers, then the desire and hope expressed by His Excellency the Governor would be more than realized at the end of the next fifty years.

8. There is no denying the fact, however, that during the last fifty years, as already stated, the black and coloured Creoles of the Colony have struggled hard (and they still have to struggle hard, and perhaps harder), through honour and dishonour, through evil report and good report, through caste prejudice and non-caste prejudice, to maintain their ground and raise themselves to their present position. This kind of struggle and conflict has been absolutely necessary to humble them, to prove them to know what was in their heart, whether they would keep God's commandments or no (Deut. viii. 2), and to strengthen their character. A man who has no difficulties, no matter what his caste, nationality, colour, or position

in life, to contend with, has therein the great misfortune of his life; for he has little or no motive for exertion, and without exertion he will be nothing in particular. In the struggle for existence which adversity causes, many may sink; but the "survival" is always "of the fittest,"—for it is of those who have been made by the struggle into manly, earnest, strong, heroic souls, as the life and position of the Creoles of the Colony fully illustrate. Notwithstanding the rapid progress made or achieved during half a century of freedom from a state of comparative ignorance and barbarism to that of political civilisation, and moral, social, and religious improvement, as evidenced at the Jubilee celebration, now a thing of the past, there is vast room for greater improvement yet during the next fifty years to come. For the encouragement of my Creole friends, I may say that as Rome was not built in one day, and that as ENGLAND, which is now the MISTRESS of the civilised world, did not raise herself to this proud position in half a century, or even in two centuries, there is still a hope and a bright future looming at a not far-off distance for the Colony and its peoples. Prejudices—caste or colour prejudices—on the part of the European against the offspring of the African and European, and prejudices on the part of the coloured Creoles themselves against the black, which were strong for a long time, are fast dying out, and in a few years more this prejudicial or caste feeling will altogether cease. There are already indications of this: a better and more friendly feeling exists between the European and the respectable coloured classes, and inter-marriages between the two are not uncommon. It is my firm conviction, judging from the present aspect of things, that within the next century, or in less time, perhaps, the now existing black, coloured, and European races in the Colony will be merged into *one*, and become a great and powerful nation, or remain till the end of time, like the "Hungarian races." What I mean the following extract from my *Guyanian Indians* (published in the Colony, 1881) will show:—

"It is a very singular fact that the varied tribes dwelling together for centuries in Hungary should remain to this day

utterly unassimilated. In France it is otherwise; there, Franks, Goths, Burgundians, and Northmen, intruding on primitive Kelts and Basques, have resulted in making a homogeneous nation of Frenchmen. Again, in our own country [England] the *mixture of races has been most thorough*; producing the ENGLISH PEOPLE; an amalgam of varied types, it is true, yet a people with an idiocrasy distinctive of the mass collectively; we [the English] have lost all characteristics of race—all classification of Kelt, Saxon, or Norman. It is very different in Hungary: the troubled history of the past reappears in the political difficulty of the present; the differences of race, of religion, and of language remain unchanged, unameliorated, though the intolerable class privileges have been swept away. The slumbering antagonism of Slav, Magyar, and German still serve to perplex the councils of the nation. . . . Referring to these facts, an old German writer has quaintly described the general hodge-podge by saying: ‘To the great national kitchen the Magyar contributes bread, meal, and wipe; the Rusmiack and Wallack salt, from the salt pits of Marmoras; the Slavonians, bacon, for Slavonia furnishes the greatest number of fattened pigs; the German gives potatoes and vegetables; the Italian, rice; the Sclovack, milk, cheese, and butter, besides table linen, kitchen utensils, and crockery-ware; the Jew supplies the Hungarian with money; and the Gipsy furnishes the national entertainment with music!’”

9. I am not quite a believer (as some are disposed to be) in the theory often put forth by wiseacres, that God has made an obvious distinction between certain races of men, setting them apart, and requiring them to be kept so, by subjecting them to the resistance and rebuke of one of the most jealous sentinels of sense which we possess—the eye. They may say that the prejudices of this sense of the eye require that the natural barriers should be maintained, and hence it becomes necessary that the race in subjection should be sufficiently numerous to carry out the great object of every distinct community, though, perchance, it may happen to be an inferior one. In process of time, the beneficial and blessed effects of labour would be felt and understood by the most ignorant and savage of the race. Perhaps not in one generation, or in two, but after the fifth and seventh, as it is written, “of those who keep my commandments.” Whatever the original Africans imported into the

Colony and elsewhere (Barbadoes, Jamaica, St. Vincent, Trinidad, etc. etc.) as slaves might have been, savages or semi-savages, the present race of the same people born in Guyana and in the West Indian Islands are very different from their ancestors. And the East Indian Immigrants imported into the Colony cannot be said to be an ignorant and savage race, for civilisation, arts, and sciences proceeded from India many centuries before England or America was known or heard of. The present race of Creoles in the Colony and elsewhere in the British West Indian Islands form a highly valuable and noble integral already in the formation of our national (English) strength and character. Though there yet remains much to be done in the way of improvement, the time is fast hastening when there will be in the Colony ONLY ONE GREAT NATIONALITY, and the language spoken by them the ENGLISH. As the children of Israel went out of Egypt, from the house of bondage, as soon as their own intellectual advancement had been such as to enable them to produce from their own ranks a leader and general like Moses, one whose genius was equal to that of the people by whom they had been educated, and sufficient for their own proper government thereafter, so the present coloured and black Creole races, with all the advantages they now possess, will fully, ere long, fit and qualify themselves to be thorough masters of their own country in which they are born, and to which their ancestors were brought after the Colony had been wrested from its original lords or proprietors, the Boks. There is a bright future before them if they would only be faithful and true to their God, to their religion, to their Queen, to themselves, to their fellow-men, and to their country.

10. In this Jubilee year of Freedom, celebrated throughout the Colony, I trust the labouring classes of black Creoles will weigh well the words of His Excellency Lord Gormanston in regard to the system of regular or systematic work. Certainly they cannot get on in life if they do not work. Why should the Colony be dependent upon India for labour supply? People or natives of Barbadoes will not tolerate any foreigners in the shape of labourers to cultivate their lands, though a good many of them come over to Demerara as Immigrants

to work on the sugar estates. As I have already expressed elsewhere in this book, I hope the time is not far distant when Immigration from India will entirely cease, and the Colony be wholly worked by the natives. Immigration, as carried on hitherto, has done its work, and now it is high time that a stop be put to it, and this can only be done by the labouring classes of natives resolving and determining to work as they ought. I hope the natives will wake up in their own interests to the fact that, if they want to get on, they must work hard. It is no disgrace to them that their forefathers were once slaves in the Colony. Joseph, a freeborn lad, was carried away to Egypt and sold there as a slave, and "his feet they hurt with fetters: he was laid in iron: until the time that his word came: the word of the Lord tried him;" and he became the prime minister of Egypt and the saviour of the people from starvation during the seven years' famine. The descendants of Israel or Jacob, when they removed to Egypt, were for several centuries held in bondage or slavery by the Egyptians. The ancient Britons were sold as slaves in the slave-market of Rome. The East Indian Immigrants, now largely imported into the Colony, are literally slaves, only under a different name. It is true the lash is not used, but other means are employed to punish them when they do not work on the estates to which they severally belong, and when they run away from the estates. Call it what you like, it is, after all, slavery in disguise in a mild form. Almost every nation in the world, at some period of their history, have been slaves. Thank God! slavery, in its very worst form, as it existed in British Guyana and in the West Indian Islands, producing outrage, suffering, and wrong, never to be fully understood till the great day of retribution, is now entirely and for ever abolished. I am fully aware that the rising generation do not like to hear anything told them about the sufferings, etc., of their ancestors whilst in slavery. They do not like to think of it as a fact. Be that as it may; but the corruptions and demoralizing influences of the oppressive system are still to be seen by the careful observer in the Colony, and they will take some years before they come to an end. Taking British Guyana as a whole, our working or

labouring classes are too highly educated; in a word, they possess too much of that "little" learning, which Roger Bacon defines as being "a dangerous thing," and, instead of elevating and raising the people, has but the two lamentable effects of distracting their minds and sowing the seeds of discontent and pride. The truth of this statement cannot be denied by any one who knows the mind and disposition of the Creole peasantry. The present educational system of the Colony is a rotten one, and is calculated to make three-fourths of the day-school teachers dishonest men, and the children attending schools, in like manner, dishonest. The sooner the present system is abolished the better it will be for the teachers and children. If the children of the peasantry are at all to be educated at the expense of the Government, it would be far better for the Government to give them a proper and a fair education, than as at present. When I speak of education, I mean not the mere learning to read, write, and cipher, but education which comprises all the influences that go to form the character. Education and religion must go hand in hand if the former is to be a success; at the same time the three R's are taught, principles of thrift, industry, and economy must be inculcated, tenets of morality and religion imparted, otherwise education will rather be detrimental to the interest than conducive to the welfare and prosperity of our nation and people. We want in the Colony Government denominational schools, where the children of our labouring population might be taught useful arts or trades, in addition to simple reading and writing. I hope the time will come when this matter will be taken up by the Government and Churches. Meanwhile I want those of them who are parents to practise the habits of industry, cleanliness, and order, and to bring up their children in the same manner. I want them to consider the importance of giving their children a good clean home, where there is order and regularity, and where the parents' authority is undisputed.

"A good home does not consist in having a large house, or being possessed of wealth, but it consists in the parents doing their duty by showing a good example in their way of living: they must be decent married people, or how can they teach

their children lessons of morality? they must be honest, or how can they teach honesty? they must be lovers of truth, or how can lessons of truthfulness be instilled in the young minds? they must be church-goers, or how can the children be expected to frequent the house of God? It is a fact that many people will not go to church on the Sabbath, or send their children, if they haven't got fine clothes and a constant change to go with. I asked a young servant-girl once why she did not go to church every Sunday, seeing that her mistress gave her leave and time to go, and her answer was, that she had worn the same things two Sundays, and could not wear them a third. I felt the absurdity of such ideas, for she was a poor girl, and I tried to convince her of it, and although I gave examples of people far above her in station, I believe I failed to convince her. This love of fine clothes is the ruin of half the young men and women of the Colony, and this habit is unfortunately fostered by the parents, generally the mothers, who take a foolish pride in rigging their children out in smart clothes for school or church, often at the expense of their stomachs, while at home they are allowed to run about in rags or a state of semi-nudity. We would have better servants, more trustworthy and reliable, if their home training in their childhood had been attended to by their parents; but if left to grow up like rank weeds, with only a smattering of reading and writing, gained by irregular attendance at school, what better results can we expect? It is deplorable, when one considers the state into which the poorer classes of Creole population are drifting. They live in idleness and sin, in spite of all that is done to eradicate the evil; and I have no hesitation in saying that the fault lies with the parents, in the evil example which they show to their children, and in a certain laxity of principle which makes them wink at bad habits in their children which ought not to be winked at, and which, if they were checked at the proper time, would save many a heartburn in the future; but allowed to go unchecked, it increases until the habit becomes confirmed. As I have said before, it is no use to send a child who has no proper home training to a day-school, and expect them to get rid of bad habits by what they learn there. It is utterly impossible that any good can be done there; home influence is stronger than the teacher's: it is like being in a boat in a strong current, and pulling against the tide; or like pouring water in a sifter, and expecting it to remain there" (*Daily Chronicle*).

I want also the labouring classes and tradesmen, in addition to their duties to their children, to stick to their work or calling, and be diligent in it, as I have already said. The English children, without a single exception, are taught to work and help themselves from their boyhood and girlhood, and hence, in a sense, they are all working men and women. And why should not the natives of the Colony, in like manner, learn to work and become independent? A man that would wish to be helped must, first of all, learn to help himself. There is no disgrace in honest labour. It has become Divine since Jesus lived at Nazareth. Remember well that—

“ Honour and shame from no condition rise ;
Act well your part—there all the honour lies.”

Bear in mind that, though the labour may be common, the labourer is uncommon. It is quite true that no man can force you to be a cane cutter, or a carpenter, or a cooper, or a blacksmith. In this you have perfect freedom. But freedom or liberty does not mean the being without laws ; on the contrary, it means the living under good laws, which secure to every man, as far as human laws can do so, the fruits of his labour, the safety of his house, and freedom to worship God. There is the law of God which says, “Six days shalt thou labour.” You cannot escape this law of God. It is binding upon you, upon me, upon every one in the world. The slave had only to obey his master. He had only to think of how to satisfy and please him. The free man is bound to think of what will benefit himself and others also, to labour for himself and family, and for the benefit of others. Hence more work on the sugar estate means more canes, more sugar, more money paid out in wages, more buying and selling, and by these things all classes in the land are benefited. More labour on the provision grounds means more plantains, tannias, cassada, and so forth,—food cheap and plentiful, and therefore a benefit to all. I believe the free man is bound by the law of his God, and by the law of liberty, to work regularly six days in the week, from Monday to Saturday, without skipping any

of the days, for the benefit of others as well as himself. Further, cultivate a spirit of unity, and live in unity with your own fellow-men, remembering that "unity is strength." I do not hesitate to say that the condition of the natives of the Colony would be better if there were this unity and mutual confidence in each other. The blacks, coloured, and the white in the Colony to some extent stand face to face with social difficulties; any solution offered in a spirit of class antagonism can scarcely have happy results. But the more the various classes know and mix with each other, the more they find of likeness in their wants and in their feelings, and of identity in their real interests, the more they discover how they can work with and for each other. The time, however, will come when all strangeness and feelings of this kind will be swept away, and when every one will recognise each other as a brother and a friend. I must, however, here mention a fact which is not a laudable or praiseworthy one on the part of our black Creole labouring population, but which I hope they will see the necessity to put down altogether. It has unfortunately become a trait in their character, a part of their nature. Beside the *animus* shown to the East Indian Immigrants on account of their having come to the Colony as coolies, and on account of their labouring on the sugar estates and elsewhere for less wages or money than they are disposed or willing to take or work for, and also on account of their being a people who can be depended on by their employers, the planters and others, for continuous work, they—the labouring black Creoles—show an ill feeling to all those labourers and Immigrants who have come to the Colony from Barbadoes, Trinidad, and other West Indian islands. Though they are all of the same race, yet the feeling for each other is not a commendable one. Just as every Hebrew, every shepherd, was an abomination unto the Egyptians, so every Hindu, every Badian, every Islander, is an abomination unto the Creole blacks of the Colony. This feeling, of course, springs from ignorance, and must ere long die a natural death. One good trait in the negro, however, is—he is forgiving, in some instances magnanimous.

11. Just a short paragraph with reference to another class of

natives of the Colony, whose language, in addition to their mother tongue, is the English. These Hindu-Guyanians are sharp and intelligent, and very promising and tractable in their ways. Hundreds of these will never care to go to India; and hundreds more, of those born in India, but brought up in the Colony, and hence accustomed to the ways and manners of the people of the country, and who will never care to return to India, and whose adopted language is English, will probably ere long demand more particular attention from the Christian ministers than is given to them now, except by the missionaries labouring among the Indian Immigrants. One very interesting fact as to the future of the Colony, which cannot fail to attract and enchain the attention of the intelligent readers, must not be left untold in this book. On the 31st of December 1886 the number of East Indian Immigrants or Asiatics—all free—resident in the Colony, exclusive of those (68,759) who are indentured, unindentured, and children on the different sugar estates, amounted to 31,522, making a grand total of Asiatic population of 100,281. At the rate the Hindu-Guyanians are increasing (for their parents are very prolific, and in this respect they are like their kindred in India; the Chinese, the Portuguese, and native black Creoles and others amongst us do not increase so rapidly and at the same rate), they will outnumber all other races in the Colony, at least I think so. I do not, however, hesitate to say that, considering the rate of increase among the natives or Creoles of the Colony, which is very slow, notwithstanding immigration from Barbadoes, we shall, before many years have passed over our heads, be having a very large Hindu-Guyanian population. Such being the probable fact, judging from the past and present, it is impossible not to perceive a fundamental, political, and social revolution among the East Indian element of the population thirteen or twenty years hence. Will this Colony then become a *Hindi-Urdu-Bengali-Tamil*-speaking province, or *English*-speaking country? Which is it to be? I know for a positive fact that the adult Hindus and their offspring in the Colony do not much care for their language (though they talk in it); they prefer the English to their own, and hence they give all atten-

tion to it, and, as I have said in the previous chapters of this book, wherever an open-air service in English is conducted, there they find themselves, to pick up, not the "pigeon English," but the real English expressions. The Indian children attending the different estate day schools are better pleased when they are taught the Creed, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, etc., in the English language than in their own. I say, without the least hesitation, that if the planters, Government, Christian Churches and missionaries, and others, desire the Indian Immigrants to remain in the Colony, teach them English and give them every opportunity for acquiring it, and then we will have an English-speaking community of East Indian population in our midst. These, along with the coloured, African, and European races, will be the future occupants of the Colony. "Up and doing" should be the motto of every earnest Hindu-Guyanian. When nations are progressing with rapid strides, when the young men of other nations show that they have their country's welfare at heart by studying their country's position, and evolving ways to extricate her from any deficiencies as a nation she may suffer from, why should the young men of the Colony, in whose veins runs the Indian blood, lag behind, or in any way appear to be inferior to other races in the Colony? Let us be worthy descendants of our forefathers, whose aims were far higher and more sublime, and in whose veins ran the milk of humanity,—who maintained the freedom of men and women alike. If we are truly proud of being the sons of India, then let us try to be a true pride to India, the home of our ancestors, whence in bygone days enlightenment and civilisation travelled to the other parts of the world.

"Ours the glory of giving the world
Its science, religion, its poetry and art ;
We were the first of the men who unfurled
The banner of freedom on earth's every part,
Brought tidings of peace and of love to each heart."

12. I shall now close this chapter and this book by placing before my English and West Indian readers an interesting

article, entitled "Echoes from Slave Time," written by the late Rev. John Foreman of the London Missionary Society (a true and faithful friend of the black and coloured people of the Colony), published by the *Daily Chronicle* on August 1st; a few sermons and speeches preached and delivered in the three counties of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; three or four specimens of native compositions in the poetical line; and conclude with a very brief account of the Jubilee celebrations, culled from local newspapers:—

(a) ECHOES FROM SLAVE TIME.

When I arrived in the Colony in 1846, there were many tales relating to slave time in circulation, which have gradually ceased to be spoken of. I now regret very much that I did not write down all of them that I heard then and in subsequent years. However, from some memoranda, and from the pages of memory, I may be able to reproduce some of them, and so give an additional interest to the Jubilee of Freedom, which is about to be celebrated in this and other colonies ruled over by Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.

I remember, when I was a boy, seeing a large printed bill posted up on the walls of houses and similar places in and around London, and also exhibited in some of the shop windows, containing a picture of a kneeling slave with chains on his hands and feet, and the words, "Am I not a man and a brother?" And also the question, "Will the Queen allow herself to be crowned Queen of Slaves?" This was, I think, my first acquaintance with the subject of slavery. Before Her Majesty's coronation took place, the Act for the emancipation of the slaves in the British dominions on the 1st of August 1838 received Her Majesty's signature; so Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria was *not* crowned Queen of Slaves. To secure this emancipation cost the people of Great Britain and Ireland £20,000,000 sterling.

Many years ago, on one of the cotton estates on the Corentyne Coast, Berbice, the proprietor or manager, I forget which, was reported to be missing. He had ridden from the house one morning, and nothing could be heard of him or the horse he rode at the time. Nor could it be ascertained exactly how long he had been missing, for news travelled slowly in those

days, and slaves were ignorant of time. There were then no postal arrangements by which to send letters from one part of the Colony to another. Neither was there any road along the Corentyne Coast as there now is. The estates then in that part of Berbice—like some of those even now in Dutch Guyana,—had no communication with the other estates, or with the towns, except by water. Thus some days at least elapsed before the news of the proprietor or manager being missing reached New Amsterdam. Then search—fruitless search—was made for him, and at length one of two conclusions was arrived at by most people, viz. either that he had followed some animal into the bush, intending to shoot it, and had got lost, or he was found to be deeply in debt, that he had got rid of his horse in some way or other, and had made his escape to some other country. Years rolled on. The estate changed hands. Many of the slaves had died or been removed to other estates, when, on the new proprietor having one of the trenches on the estate deepened, the shovelmén came on some bones and the stirrup of a saddle. The master having been informed of the circumstance, he had these remains carefully removed, when the conviction fastened on himself and also on others, that these bones were those of the missing horse and its rider of so many years before. But how came they there? That was the puzzle. Some of the old slaves were sought out, and promised that nothing should be done to them if they would only tell all they knew about it. And this was their story. That one morning the massa rode into the field where they were hoeing the cotton plants, with the big whip in his hand he always carried. That without a word he gave a severe cut with this whip across the back of a tall and powerful slave, who in the anguish of the moment swung round and dealt his assailant a blow on the back of the head with the hoe he had in his hand. The master fell from his horse, and never recovered consciousness; in fact, in a few minutes he ceased to live. Great was the consternation of the slaves when they found the master was dead. They secured the horse, and held a consultation as to what was to be done. At length it was decided to kill the horse, and to bury it, together with the saddle, bridle, and whip, and their dead master's body, all together at the bottom of the trench nigh at hand, and in which there was not very much water. Two "stop-offs" were put in the trench, the water baled out of the space between them, and a huge pit dug, into which the man and the horse, with

the saddle, bridle, and whip, were laid. This being done, the bottom of the trench was carefully levelled, the "stop-offs" as carefully removed, so as to leave no trace of their existence, and the water flowed over the grave of the dead. The driving of the herd of cattle and the flock of sheep for a day or two along the road from the house past the field where the slaves had been at work, effectually destroyed all traces of the marks of the feet of the horse thereon. So that at the time the master was missed, beyond the fact that he had been seen to ride out of the house yard, no trace of him could be found. The reason why this was I have just made known. The slave who struck the fatal blow had been dead some years when the remains of the horse and its rider were found.

There was an estate with a long Dutch name up the Berbice river, but to which the name of "Egypt" got attached. I have heard it spoken of as "Egypt" by persons who had no idea how it acquired that name. It became noted for the cruelty with which the slaves were treated on it, and when the slaves in Berbice began to know a little of Bible history, some of them gave to it the name of Egypt. One of the modes of punishment adopted there was to put the slaves into an old boiler or old iron chest, and to set others of them to beat the outside of it with hammers, by means of which some so punished lost entirely the sense of hearing. Near to the buildings was a long row of tombs of managers and overseers who had died there. One result of the cruelty practised on the slaves was, that they bound themselves together by what they deemed an oath of the most solemn and terrible character, that no manager or overseer should live more than six months on the estate. This came to my knowledge in the following manner. When my dear friend the late Rev. John Dalgliesh had been about a year in the Colony, he was sent for to see an old woman who was very ill. He was asked to go at once, as she said "she could not die till she had seen him." He went, and after she had ordered all other persons out of the room, she told Mr. Dalgliesh what I have narrated above, and a great deal more. The burden on her mind was this. She had been one of the slaves in the house, and hence on her devolved the work of putting into the goglets that which acted as a slow poison. She told Mr. Dalgliesh what this was, but for very obvious reasons I shall not mention it here. She also told from how many persons she had thus taken away

their lives, giving their names, or the names by which they were known to her, or a description of some personal peculiarity they possessed ; and now, as she said, "she could not die," because all these murders were on her soul. "Yet," said she, "had I not done it, the other slaves would have killed me." There was one overseer who escaped. He was a young man who treated the slaves on that estate with such exceptional kindness, that they did not like to carry out on him their oath of vengeance. Yet what were they to do. "How could they let him off?" They must kill him "for their oath's sake," so said some. Others, that this woman should try and frighten him away by the awful stories she could tell him, or manage that he should hear. Apparently the plan succeeded, for he shortly after left the estate, and went back, the woman said, to his own country. There seems to have existed in slave time a great dread of being poisoned—and probably not without cause—on the part of the slave-owners, or those who managed the estates. I have heard of an arrangement then in use, by means of which the cover of the pepper-pot—more necessary then than now—was fastened, and only unlocked by the master on its being wheeled up to the table. But my opinion is that this contrivance was at least as much for the purpose of keeping fingers out of the pepper-pot, as from any fear of anything deleterious being put into its contents.

I have occasionally seen references in the public press, based on the supposition that very many of the slaves of this Colony were in slave time taught to read. Facts point in the opposite direction. The only school on the estates of those days was one known as the "picaninny" or children's gang. These little ones were turned out early in the morning in a state of nudity to do any kind of work that such small labourers could perform. Their driver was generally an old female slave, who was armed with a tamarind whip with twisted ends, which she used on their backs to make them work faster. Or she would order one of them to be seized by the others, thrown face downwards on the ground, and, whilst held by them in that position, she administered "chastisement" to the offender. I believe in work, and in children being taught to work, but not by such means as the above ; but what I want to point out is—that there was no teaching slaves' children to read in those days. Schools for children began to exist during "apprenticeship" times.

The British and Foreign Bible Society presented a New

Testament in large type to those adults who had been slaves, who, on the 1st of August 1838, could read a few verses of the first chapter of the Gospel of John. I knew some of these persons, and have always suspected that in many instances the verses were repeated, not read; or else these persons must have receded and not advanced in their ability to read. I may mention here that I have frequently been surprised at the amount of Scripture, sometimes consisting of whole Psalms, or of chapters of the New Testament, which "old time slaves," who could not read a word, had committed to memory.

When residing on the West Coast of Berbice, and talking to some of the old people about their having been taught to read in slave time, they shook their heads, and one of them said, "You should see so and so's back." I asked why. "Because he would slip off 'Hope and Experiment' at night to come here, and get a lesson from the teacher, and so when they caught him, they flogged him, and then put him in the stocks."

On this West Coast of Demerara, I was greatly amused some years ago at hearing one who had been a slave describe the difficulties he and others had in concealing a first-class book published by the Sunday School Union, containing the alphabet, etc. Their clothing was of the scantiest, too scanty to hide even so small a book. Hence it was hidden sometimes in a bundle of grass, at others in a piece of bamboo, or in a hollow branch of a tree. One moonlight night he was telling the others the names of the letters of the alphabet, when an overseer suddenly appeared and caught them in the act. The next day the whole company was taken to the manager's house and flogged, the reader getting a double portion, being flogged the first and again the last of the batch. This man occasionally got a pass to go and hear the missionary. He endeavoured to carry away as much as he could of what he heard (a good example to many persons at the present time), and then to tell it as opportunity offered to his fellow-slaves. This came to the manager's knowledge, and, calling the man, he said to him, "William, how much does the missionary pay you for teaching the people?" The reply was, "Nothing, sir." "And how much does Mr. — (the attorney of the estate) pay you?" Again the reply was, "Nothing, sir." "Then," said the manager, "I'll pay you;"—"and, after having me flogged (said William to me), he made me for a week dance an hour a day on the tread-wheel;"—a kind of dance

that few dancers would admire. When Mr. Hermanns Post began at Le Resouvenir to teach some of his house slaves to read, he was called an incendiary, a firebrand, a revolutionist, and other hard names. One of the editors of the newspapers of that day wrote, "If Mr. Post thinks he can teach his slaves to read, and still keep them in slavery, we tell him he is mistaken." There can be no doubt that the opinion expressed by the editor was a right one, but it shows the opposition to slaves being taught to read that existed, almost of necessity, in slave time.

During slavery time all strangers arriving in the Colony had to present themselves to the Governor, and ask his permission to remain in it. In accordance with this law, the Rev. John Smith, on his arrival in Demerara in 1817, presented himself to the then Governor. The account of the interview, I will give in Mr. Smith's own words. "His Excellency frowned on me. He asked me what I had come to do, and how I purposed to instruct the negroes?" I answered, by teaching them to read, by teaching them Doctor Watts' catechism, and by preaching the gospel in a plain manner. To which he replied sharply, "If you ever teach a negro to read, and I hear of it, I will banish you from the Colony immediately." A strange contrast this to what took place seventy years afterwards, viz. in 1887. For last year there was paid out of the taxation of the Colony, "Grants to primary schools, \$99,047.68," and for inspectors, district officers, etc., \$11,023.75, or together the sum of \$110,071.43. But then in 1817 slavery existed, and in 1887 the Jubilee of Emancipation therefrom was nigh at hand.

At the Queen's Jubilee Levee, I heard some jocular remarks made concerning "the Queen's troops," no less than two dozen soldiers who formed the guard of honour on that occasion. They were laughed at as "our brave defenders." It is, however, a proof of the security of life and property which now exists, in striking contrast with the insecurity which was felt in slave time. Never, I suppose, in the English history of this Colony, had we so small a number of "regular" soldiers in it as at the present time. Our armed police will be pointed to, and rightly so, as a very important organization for the maintenance of order. Well, and in the "good old days," besides the regular forces, there was the militia, which did not then exist in British Guyana, on paper only, as it does in 1888. Nor should it be overlooked that a large majority of the

rank and file of our armed police force are the descendants of the slaves of a bygone time. There were in slave time European troops stationed not only in Georgetown and Mahaica, but also in New Amsterdam; and Fort Wellington, West Coast, Berbice, was also occupied by soldiers. When I first knew Fort Wellington, it consisted of a centre building and two wings. The centre had been the officers' quarters (now the parsonage), the two wings were used as barracks for the rank and file. The one on the right on entering was after Emancipation used as a schoolhouse until the Church of England schoolhouse, close to Hope Town, was erected, after which the old building was pulled down. The left wing has undergone at various times alterations and improvements, so as to fit it for use as magistrates' courts, police station, etc. When the Rev. John Smith was arrested in 1823, a troop of cavalry and company of infantry were employed in this service, and now in the Jubilee year of Freedom less than two dozen soldiers are deemed sufficient for the needs of the Colony.

A "bit by bit" emancipation had been going on before 1838. It began with the case of Granville Sharp. A slave had been taken to England by his master, but when he wished to return to Jamaica with him, still as his slave, the question was raised as to whether he could do so. It was carried into the law courts, and decided that there could be no slaves in England, and that any of them being brought there made them free. This led to all who had been taken to the United Kingdom as servants and slaves, and brought back hither, receiving their freedom.

"Slaves cannot breathe in England :

They breathe our air, that moment they are free ;

They touch our country, and their shackles fall."

Others were set free by their deceased masters' will, and yet others by being allowed to work and buy themselves.

In March 1823, Sir F. Fowell Buxton (after whom the village of Buxton, East Coast, Demerara, was named) moved in the House of Commons the following resolution, viz. "that the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be abolished gradually throughout the British Colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned."

To this resolution the Right Honourable George Canning, a distinguished member of the Government, moved an amendment as follows:—

“That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in His Majesty’s dominions :

“That through a determined and persevering, at the same time judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty’s subjects :

“That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period which shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property :

“That these resolutions be laid before His Majesty.”

This amendment, laid before the House of Commons by the Government of that day, shows how far the cause of the abolition of slavery had advanced so far back as March 1823. The Government felt they could not meet Sir F. Fowell Buxton’s resolution with a direct negative, and therefore proposed an amendment, which, having the same end in view, viz. the abolition of slavery, proposed a much longer and more circuitous way of reaching it. The amendment was carried, and was, as I believe, one of the main causes of the insurrection of the slaves on the East Coast of Demerara, later on in that same year. The action of the House of Commons was followed by certain regulations adopted in Council by His Majesty King George IV. The amendment adopted by the House of Commons, and the regulations subsequently adopted, were sent as an “Order in Council” to the various Colonies. The then Governor of Demerara—who is said to have had slaves of his own, and no wonder, when “the Crown” at that time had slaves in New Amsterdam, and when the advertisement of the vendue of a clergyman contained male and female slaves amongst the other things to be sold—received this Order in Council on the 7th of July 1823. Amongst other things required was, that the flogging of female slaves should be at once and for ever abolished, that the hours of labour should be reduced to nine, etc. Human nature is human nature all the world over, and in all times ; and as we now

sometimes see the interference of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies in the affairs of British Guyana resented and strongly condemned, so was it in 1823. The then owners of slaves in this Colony regarded these measures of His Majesty's Government as an unwarrantable interference with their right to work and flog their slaves as they pleased, in short, to do as they liked with their own. Moreover, they rightly judged that this was the beginning of the end,—the insertion of the thin edge of the wedge, to be driven home by and by. It was the subject of warm conversation at the dinner-table, when waited on by some of their slaves, and after dinner, when there was no difficulty about one or more of the slaves contriving to hear all that was said on a subject of such deep interest to them. As a proof that in this way the knowledge that something had come out from England was spread abroad among the slaves, I give a short quotation from the diary of the Rev. John Smith, as follows:—"July 25. —Qamina, of Success, came to inquire if I had heard the report that the King had sent out orders to the Government to free the slaves. I told him I had not heard of it, and that if such a report was in circulation, it must not be believed, for it was false. He said he was sure there was something in it, and he wished to know what it was. He said his son, Jack Gladstone, heard it last Sunday from Daniel the Governor's servant, who heard his master talking about it with some gentlemen." It was in this way that the slaves on the East Coast got hold of the notion that their "freedom had come out from home." As they could hear nothing about it, their burdens being increased rather than otherwise, and an official notice being issued that no slave should go to public worship without a pass from his master, the slaves were greatly excited, and eventually adopted the wild scheme of securing the firearms on the estate, and putting the managers and overseers in the stocks,—which then existed on every estate,—whilst they went to town to the Governor to get this freedom that had come out for them. That the Rev. John Smith knew of there being great dissatisfaction among the slaves, there can be no doubt, though he knew nothing of what I have called their "wild scheme," for every person of any intelligence in the Colony knew of the discontent. The Rev. W. S. Austin (father of the present venerable archdeacon of Demerara), then chaplain of the garrison, had complaints made to him by some of the slaves that their masters were attempting to put down their

religion. The way in which this was done, and the assertion of some of them that they would die rather than give up their religion, made the Rev. W. S. Austin inform the Governor of what he had heard.

A very different plan had been carried out in the then Colony of Berbice, and with the best results. Instead of doing as in Demerara, making no publication of the Order in Council, Governor Beard asked the Rev. John Wray to read from the pulpit of his chapel the Order in Council, and explain its meaning to the slaves. This he did, and in Berbice, as a result, all was quiet.

On the 18th of August this "wild scheme" was attempted to be put in operation. The Rev. J. Smith and Mrs. Smith, returning from their evening walk, heard a great noise, and on making inquiry found that the slaves had attacked the manager's dwelling at Le Resouvenir, and were demanding the firearms to be given to them. Mr. Smith at once proceeded to the manager's house, begging them to desist; but they were now beyond control. Some of them behaved most rudely to him, telling him to go home, and leave them alone, and brandishing their cutlasses amidst most violent gesticulations. He, however, prevailed on them to liberate the manager, whom they were about to put in the stocks. On the other estates similar scenes were being enacted, and some of the managers were actually put in the stocks by their slaves. On the 22nd of August the Rev. John Smith and his wife were arrested. I will now quote from the letter written by Mr. Smith immediately after his arrest, and addressed to the First Fiscal.

"COLONY HOUSE, DEMERARA,

"22nd August 1823.

"May it please your Honour,—As your Honour kindly inquired in what manner I and my wife left our home, and on hearing the circumstances, offered to communicate them to His Excellency the Governor, I beg leave to submit the following facts to your consideration.

"Yesterday, about three o'clock, Mr. ———,¹ at the head of a company of infantry, came to our house, and asked if I had seen the Governor's proclamation which placed the Colony under martial law. I said yes. He then proceeded to read it, marking, with peculiar emphasis, the clause which requires

¹ I suppress this and other names, as some of their descendants are living in the Colony at the present time.—J. F.

every person, without distinction, capable of bearing arms, to enrol in the militia, and demanded whether I had complied with that order? I told him I had not. He rejoined, 'Then I have it in command from Captain — to require your attendance at his house to enrol and accoutre yourself as a militiaman.' I replied I could not comply with that command, as my profession entitled me to a legal exemption. Mr. — then said he had another command to execute, namely, to seal up all my papers. I inquired what authority he had for such proceedings. He said the order of Captain — was his authority; and asked if I intended to offer him any resistance. I told him, no. And showing him where the papers were, I saw him seal them up, part in a desk, and the remainder in a drawer. Mr. — and his company of soldiers then went away. In about three-quarters of an hour afterwards, our house was again beset with soldiers, which, with the cavalry, were now under the command of Captain —, and the company of infantry under the command of Mr. —. Mr. — (in command of the troops), in the faintest language and the fiercest manner, demanded why I had dared to disobey Captain —'s order. I told him that I was entitled to an exemption from military service. 'D—— your eyes, sir,' said he, 'if you give me any of your logic I'll sabre you in a minute; if you don't know what martial law is, I'll show you,' at the same time brandishing his sabre in my face in a menacing manner, and swearing that I was the cause of all this disturbance. He then called for a file of men to seize me, while others ordered my chains to be got ready."

Mind, this letter, of which the above is an extract, was written at the time when John Smith was a prisoner in an upper room of what was then known as "the Old Court House," a photograph of which is in my possession. This building stood on part of the site now occupied by the Victoria Courts of Justice. In that upper room the Rev. John Smith was confined from August to October; and for these seven weeks he was denied the use of writing materials to inform the Directors of the London Missionary Society of his imprisoned condition. Yet after his condemnation to death by the court-martial, the Rev. John Smith was compelled to draw a bill on the London Missionary Society for the expenses of his trial. In one corner of it he wrote, in very small letters, "2 Cor. iv. 8 and 9," where it is written, "We are troubled on every side," etc.

His trial by court-martial commenced on the 13th of October 1823, and lasted for twenty-seven consecutive days (Sundays excepted), adjourning on that day, viz. 19th November 1823, to the 24th of the same month, when sentence of death was passed on him. I have a copy of the proceedings of that court-martial now before me, and I see the court was composed of fifteen officers. Of these, eight belonged to the Royal North British Fusiliers, one to the Royal Engineers, one to the Royal Artillery, one to the King's Own Regiment, two to the West India Regiment, and two to the Colonial Militia. Whilst these things were proceeding in Georgetown and on the East Coast, the Rev. Richard Elliott, then living in the house in which I reside, was arrested,—though the slaves on this West Coast were perfectly quiet,—and conveyed to Georgetown. St. Andrew's Church was then occupied as a militia barracks, and Mr. Elliott was imprisoned in its pulpit by day and in the vestry at night. Finally, being offered his liberty if he would leave the Colony, though he knew he was guilty of no crime, he wisely accepted the offer. John Smith's church and house at Le Resouvenir, and this house (with a place of worship in a lower storey), though the property of the London Missionary Society, were seized by the Government and handed over to clergymen of the Church of England, and were so retained for some years, and only restored to their rightful owners after the matter had been brought under the notice of the British Parliament.

John Smith died in Georgetown jail on the 8th of February 1824, and was buried *somewhere* in the burial ground, in the centre of which St. Philip's Church now stands, at four o'clock the following morning, Mrs. Smith being denied the poor consolation of following his remains to the grave.

Was John Smith guilty of instigating the slaves on the East Coast to rebel? I unhesitatingly, with all the evidence before me, answer No! And I advise all who can to read Lord Brougham's speech in defence of the missionary Smith in the House of Lords. Did the managers of estates and others *believe* that Mr. Smith was guilty? I have no doubt they did. Happily we cannot realize the state of things that then existed. The slaves in revolt. Two thousand of them, partly armed, assembled together up the East Coast. The Governor, on going to remonstrate with them, fired on by *one of them*. Residents on estates fleeing into the city, for fear their lives would be taken. All this showed a real danger that would

induce a state of panic, which would seek to wreak its vengeance on some one.

There were, however, two gentlemen who had good opportunities for arriving at the truth. These were the Rev. W. S. Austin, father of Archdeacon Austin, and the Rev. Mr. Arrindell, who defended Smith, and who is known to many of the elders of this generation as Chief-Justice Arrindell. At first the Rev. W. S. Austin says he believed that Mr. Smith had perhaps quite unintentionally been a cause of the rebellion,—in other words, he at the first believed him to be guilty. When, however, he went up the coast and made inquiries, he began to doubt Smith's guilt, and ultimately became convinced of Smith's innocence, and wrote, "I feel no hesitation in declaring, from the intimate knowledge which my most anxious inquiries have obtained, that in the late scourge which the hand of an All-wise Creator has inflicted on this ill-fated country, nothing but those religious impressions which, under Providence, Mr. Smith has been instrumental in fixing—nothing but those principles of the gospel of peace which he has been proclaiming—could have prevented a dreadful effusion of blood here, and saved the lives of those very persons who are now (I shudder to write it) seeking his life."

When Chief-Justice Arrindell received this appointment, my departed friend, the late Rev. E. A. Wallbridge, called on him to congratulate him. The conversation turned mainly upon the trial of John Smith, and Chief-Justice Arrindell reaffirmed his belief in the entire innocence of Mr. Smith of any complicity in the insurrection. He also told Mr. Wallbridge what he had suffered by defending Smith. How all business was taken from him. His professional prospects were blighted, and the door of almost every respectable house in Georgetown was closed against him. Very similar, I have the best of reasons for believing, was the experience of the Rev. W. S. Austin. They were in fact "Boycotted." The word was not then coined, but the thing meant by it was practised. The memory of these brave defenders of the late Rev. John Smith is very sweet to me, for "The memory of the just is blessed."

Happily, these sad scenes only come to us as "Echoes from Slave Time," for under the new order of things every man who stands at the bar of the Supreme Criminal Court of this Colony has every opportunity afforded to him to defend himself or prove his innocence.

There were times when slaves ran away from the estates and

escaped into "the bush." But they must have been few in number in this Colony when compared with those that acted similarly in Jamaica and Surinam. For the Maroons of Jamaica, and the bush negroes of Surinam of the present day, are the descendants of the runaway slaves of a former time. Slave hunts were sometimes organized for recapturing them, and a "Judas" not infrequently aided in the capture. Such a settlement had been formed behind the West Coast estates, which became known to a slave, who offered to lead his master and others to it. When they got near the place, he left the party in ambush, with the information that when they heard the slaves shouting loud, they were to surround the place and capture them. He went into the little settlement, pretended to keep a religious service with them, told them to go down on their knees and pray for the Holy Spirit. "Pray louder, louder!" exclaimed the man, and as they did so they were pounced on, seized, and some of them elected to be shot on the spot, rather than be carried back to the estate, where they knew very cruel treatment awaited them before the other slaves, so as to deter others from also running away.

When the Colony was finally taken from the Dutch in 1803, there were but two churches, the one, the remains of which still exist, at Fort Island, Essequibo, and the other in New Amsterdam. At the door of one of these, and probably of both, was a notice-board with this inscription on it in the Dutch language: "No slaves nor dogs admitted." It was not surprising that these Dutch slave-owners took no care for the religious instruction of their slaves, for, as an old Dutch gentleman once told me, they only went to church three times in their lives, viz. when they were baptized, when they were married, and when they were buried.

I have met, in the years gone by, in Georgetown, with persons who in the days of slavery had been driven away for trying to look into the room in the old Court House in which Divine service according to the rites of the Church of England was being performed by the chaplain of the garrison.

In 1805 a Wesleyan missionary arrived from Dominica with a view of labouring here, but the Governor of that day would not allow him to remain, but insisted on his leaving Demerara in the same mail-boat as had brought him to these shores.

The Rev. John Wray was employed to teach the Crown slaves in Berbice. He also built a small chapel in New

Amsterdam. The "Mission Chapel" now in that town is the third that has stood on that block of land. When the first was to be erected, a large silk cotton tree was in the way, and for some time Mr. Wray could get no one to venture to cut it down. So at last he said, "That tree has got to come down, and if you won't cut it down, I will;" and so he took off his coat, seized hold of the axe, and commenced the work; when, after the men had been looking on for some minutes, they came and took the axe from him, and levelled the tree to the ground. When that first chapel was built, the Sunday evening service was frequently disturbed in the following manner. I have already said there were at that time European soldiers stationed in the Fort, where is now the lunatic asylum, in Berbice; and the band, after playing whilst the officers dined, were then ordered to go and play round the town, and especially round "old Wray's chapel." I was told this by a European who at that time had been a drummer in the band, and who added, "I was a giddy young fellow then, and didn't mind it; indeed, I thought it was fine fun to bait old Wray."

Whilst on this subject, I may mention that when the late Rev. Ebenezer Davies was about to build the present "Mission Chapel" in New Amsterdam, a meeting of the members was called to ascertain what amount of money each one would promise to give. Amongst these was an old slave with a wooden leg, from Plantation Vryheid, named Fitzgerald Matthew. Upon his name being called, he advanced to the table, and put down a sum of money, wrapped up in paper, and said, "That's for me, massa." Producing a smaller packet, he said, "That's for me wife, massa;" and then, diving into his pocket for a third and still smaller packet, said, "That's for my picaninny, massa." Upon being told that they did not want his money then, but only to know how much he would promise to give, he replied, "Take it; God's work must be done, and I may be dead,"—a practical obedience to the command, "What thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might," etc. I knew the old man well, and oft-times I saw him coming along the back-dam to chapel, stumping along neatly dressed, and with a tall drab hat on, kindly given him by the doctor who visited Vryheid, and by which Fitzgerald set great store.

In "slave time" the words man or woman were not used to slaves, but only boy or girl; I suppose lest even in that way the idea of their manhood should find admission into the mind of the slave. It, however, caused, even at a later date, some

amusing scenes. One day, when driving along the West Coast, Berbice, a middle-aged man signified his wish to speak to me. I pulled up my horse, and said, "What is it?" "Please, minister, I want to get married!" "Very well," I said, "get married if you like, I am sure I have no objection. But who is it you are going to marry?" Pointing to the other side of my waggon, he said, "That ere young gal." I looked, and saw a female of an age evidently that had left young girlhood far behind it, and in point of years, at all events, very suited to be the man's wife. I found in subsequent conversation that he was a grandfather and she was a grandmother, for, he having heard something about the Act of Verweezing, wanted to know of me what he was to do in relation thereto, as he wanted to get married again.

The Order in Council—the marriage law of the Colony to this day—was passed on the 7th day of September 1838, and bears the name of Queen Victoria. In slave time the slaves could not be married. But slaves who had been taught somewhat of the Bible expressed a wish to be married. The Rev. John Wray, therefore, acted in the following manner. He read out their names three successive Sundays, as those of persons wishing to be married. At the close of the service on the following Sunday, he called them up in the front of the congregation, and said, "Thomas, will you have Susan to be your wife?" "Yes, massa." "And, Susan, will you have Thomas to be your husband?" "Yes, massa." "And will you both promise to live good together?" "Yes, massa." Mr. Wray then joined their hands together and offered prayer to God on their behalf, when, as my informant said, "the story was done." A very simple and inexpensive matter, you see, yet the Rev. John Wray, I have been assured, was liable to fine and imprisonment for every couple he thus married. I had occasion to mention this on the West Coast of Berbice, when a man (I believe he is still alive) came up to me, and said, "Papa, how did you get to know how Mr. Wray married us?" "Never mind," I said. "Was what I said right?" He replied, "If you had said Joe and Sarah instead of Thomas and Susan, I should have thought you meant me and my wife." Slaves had only one name, as may be seen above. At Freedom very many took also their "old massa's name." Many of the names of old negroes, over which people sometimes make merry, were not names they had given to them by their parents, but by the manager and overseers. When a new

batch of slaves arrived, sometimes all the names of the gods in a book of heathen mythology were put to use in naming the slaves.

About two years ago, amongst some other papers relating to some property, which were brought to me to look at, was a certificate of marriage, signed by my predecessor, the late Rev. James Scott, of a marriage between William (I think) and Mary. What was wanted of me was that I would certify that the "Mary" of that certificate was *the* Mary then before me. That I could not do. I could certify the certificate was a correct copy of the register, that it was in the handwriting of the late Rev. James Scott, and that I had known that Mary—as Mary—for some years; but to certify that she was the Mary of the marriage certificate I could not.

Slavery was not abolished in Dutch Guyana till a good many years after its abolition in British Guyana, and by some means or other the news got over to the Dutch side of the river Corentyne that there was freedom on this side of the river, and whoever could get across would be free. One night four young and strong slaves left an estate in Nickerie, intending to go as far up in the bush as they could, and then swim the Corentyne, to the land of freedom. They were missed and pursued sooner than they expected, and had therefore to take to the river much lower down than they had intended. One was caught, another was drowned, the other two got safely over, though in a terribly exhausted state from exertion and fear. They hid in the bush for several days, living upon wild fruit, and then they made their way towards inhabited parts of Berbice. These two men I knew well. The great trouble to one of them was that he had left his mother behind him; and about 1855 he got a gentleman who was going to Nickerie to try and buy his mother for him. But the offer was refused, and she died in slavery. In 1863 circumstances changed, and with freedom "looming in the distance," he learnt that the young master was willing to sell his slaves, and he then, through an agent, purchased his sister for three hundred dollars; for two of her children he paid two hundred and forty dollars; for her baby, sixty dollars; and for his brother's eldest son, one hundred and twenty dollars, or the whole lot for seven hundred and twenty dollars, or £150 sterling!

Let these "Echoes from Slave Time" suffice to stimulate devout thanksgivings to Almighty God for the blessings of freedom, education, and religion, for it was not until the slaves were

free from the bondage of men that they were indeed free to worship God. The stride upwards since emancipation has been enormous. I am not blind to the great evils which exist still among the people of this land—evils which often make my heart very sad, and some of which are not only the “Echoes of Slave Time,” but its realities. If “the evil that men do lives after them,” so do also the evil of evil systems, such as slavery, leave their evil influence and example behind long after the system has been abolished; and so it is here. Calmly and deliberately I repeat that, from what I have learnt of the social, moral, and religious condition of the people in slave time in this Colony, the stride upwards has, since emancipation, been enormous; but there is still much, very much, to be done before the descendants of those who knew by experience what slavery was, are the truthful, industrious, sober, virtuous, and godly people I myself and every other one of their well-wishers in this Colony desire them to be. May the next fifty years witness a great advancement in everything that is good; and for this every one should feel himself to be personally responsible!

(β) SERMONS PREACHED IN THE CITY CHURCHES.

(A) GEORGETOWN, DEMERARA COUNTY.

1. *Service in the Pro-Cathedral: Anglican.*

At 11 A.M. on Wednesday, a Thanksgiving Service in honour of the Jubilee of Emancipation was held at the Pro-Cathedral before a very large congregation. There were present at the service the members of the “Court Georgetown Diamond,” and St. George’s Burial Society, the former marching to the tunes of the band of the British Guyana Volunteers. The cathedral was decorated with wreaths and evergreens. The Rev. E. Pocknell, curate, read the lessons, after which the Rev. J. R. Moore, curate, Berbice River, ascended the pulpit and delivered a very interesting address. He took for his text the words in the 103rd Psalm, 1st and 2nd verses: “Praise the Lord, O my soul: and all that is within me praise His holy name. Praise the Lord, O my soul: and forget not all His benefits.” He said:—

The bard of Israel in penning this psalm was trans-

ported with gratitude, whilst near the close of an eventful life he calmly surveyed the past; and as the various phases of his life were marshalled before his mind's eye, the mercies and loving-kindness of God were the more distinctly realized,—hence, he could not restrain the sublime outburst of praise which we find recorded in this psalm, and we cannot do better than in choosing the opening verses for our theme to-day. It is very appropriate to this occasion, for I am assured that there is not an individual present of African descent who, knowing the history of our race in the British West Indies, and reviewing the past, would not feel the heart touched with the fire of the Psalmist, and be in full sympathy with the spirit of this psalm, when page after page of our history unfolds itself before our minds. It is not my intention to treat you with a learned address on the term Jubilee. I prefer directing your thoughts to the practical aspects of to-day, as I am sure this method will more permanently stamp the effects of to-day's proceedings upon the future history of our race than all I may be able to tell you of Jubilees and their origin. It is enough for me to say that Jubilee is a term of gladness, a term for rejoicing, that it is a day of thanksgiving. I therefore desire, first, to assist you in lifting your hearts on high, and accompanying you in spirit to the heaven of heavens, and by the aid of our High Priest within the veil present our souls before the mercy-seat, and there, with humble thankfulness, offer our souls and bodies for acceptance as living sacrifices in grateful acknowledgment to the All-Merciful for the privileges we to-day possess as free subjects of the British Crown. Fifty years have rolled past since this boon has been conferred; fifty years have engraven the records of our history on the pages of time; and these records are only on the introductory pages of the vast volume now being unfolded. What the contents of the written pages are to be we do not know, but this we know, that they shall be whatever we make them. As we stand this morning at this milestone of our history, and with the march before us, we cannot but feel how awful is the responsibility devolving upon us. Unfriendly critics, on the one hand, have predicted all sorts of evil fortune for us; friendly disposed ones, on the other, are anxiously watching and wishing for happy results. Well may we, in realizing our responsibilities, gird our loins for the struggle. Well may we begin our Jubilee by assembling ourselves in our various places of worship, with united hearts offering our

solemn thanksgiving for mercies vouchsafed and privileges enjoyed, and seeking Divine aid in the battle that is before us, for we stand in need of Divine aid. We have begun well, and may Christ's blessing attend us. But, after thanksgiving and praying for aid, our next duty should be reflecting on the means of attaining to the practical advantage of the liberty we now possess, that every man, woman, and child amongst us may prove to the world that we are not undeserving of the boon conferred on us, and that we are fitted to be admitted to the same platform with more favoured people, having proved our right to be considered men as well as others, and equally entitled to the respect of nations. It would be improper in me, my friends, to take advantage of this position to harrow your feelings by recounting the sufferings of our fathers. This would not be in accord with the spirit of a Jubilee. Most of you have heard them. "Let the dead past bury its dead"—no discordant note of bitterness should spoil our psalm of thanksgiving to-day. Let us rather dwell on the privileges we possess and the blessings we enjoy, and consider how we may make the most of them, and fully realize the fact that out of the evils suffered by our fathers good has arisen to us. To compare our fortunes of to-day with what they were fifty years ago, will assist us in lifting united hearts in unfeigned thankfulness to God that He in His great mercy hath so overruled the wills of heartless, avaricious men, that we may now feel we are men and not chattels! To assist you in fully realizing our first duty this day—our duty of thanksgiving—I would ask you, my brethren, to look around and calmly survey this sea of sable faces, then look at this pulpit, and you will see that innumerable possibilities for our race are in store. This view will assist to raise our souls and take them to the footstool of the All-Merciful, and there in lowly adoration prostrate ourselves; and like the sound of many waters let the grateful symphonies of praise and thanksgiving from all our brethren throughout the West Indies blend and ascend like incense before the Throne! And let us fully realize that towards us as well as towards others, and with the same love, the Father of all has stretched forth His gracious hand; and let this prayer ascend in perfect unison this morning—"Look on us, pity us, and sustain us, gracious Lord and God!" My brethren, we have much to inspire us this day with a desire to cast ourselves on the bosom of a merciful God; whatever may have hitherto been our lives, the functions of this day ought

to inspire us with a desire to rise to our privileges as favoured sons of God, though despised by some. First, let us show our appreciation of the privilege of this day. There was a time when our fathers dared not enter these sacred precincts, and if they did, it would have been by stealth, but now the humblest of us enjoy an equal right with the greatest in the land to assemble here in seeking the special presence of the Father of all. In Berbice, years ago, a certain place of worship had this motto over the principal door: "Negroes and dogs are not permitted to enter here." We feel shocked, nay, humiliated; but we must pity the attitude of such minds. However, times are changed,—that church and its affairs are under the control of the descendants of despised negroes,—the light of the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ hath pierced the dark gloom of human passions and prejudices, and the Divine command, "Go ye into all the world and evangelize every creature," is being obeyed; and although human pride and prejudices are dying hard, God's will must prevail, His decree must be fulfilled,—we are His children as well as others,—He loves us, He cares for us, our fortunes are under His direction, we need not fear antagonistic spirits, so long as we cast ourselves on His mighty protection, in His own good time He will fulfil His designs with us. Men's passions and prejudices cannot thwart Him,—step by step He is working out His sovereign will. Having reached this golden milestone to-day, we, on looking back over the distance passed, are the better able to realize the fact that God is for us as well as for others, and His helping hand will be with us in proportion to our keeping near Him, and looking to Him as our strength. Battles fought, oppositions removed, and difficulties overcome, before which we of ourselves would have been like chaff before the wind—these only ought to convince us that a mightier power than man's is working with us—mark you the expression, *working with us*. I use it advisedly; it does not derogate from the dignity of God, because we must understand that God does not put us aside to stand with folded arms whilst He is working for us, but, having assigned each of us our part, He expects us to do our duty, whilst He is ready and willing to help us to work out our parts. But with this responsibility of working we must not think that our puny powers are able to force the hand of God. We may design, we may attempt wonders, but not a single effort unblessed and disapproved by God can lift us the slightest fraction of an inch

higher or take us on a step faster than what God sees fit for us. We must toil towards our advancement, but we must be patient, humbly yielding ourselves as instruments in His hand, working out His designs with us. Watch for His guiding finger, follow His directions, use the intelligence and the judgment, and the discernment, and all the powers of mind He hath given us, and leave the issues in His hand. We, my brethren, are at the beginning of the end of our history—we know not what that end may be, but this we are assured: our privileges as men have been conceded, opportunities are being slowly but surely given us for the shaping of our destinies; and though “there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will,” yet much depends on our efforts in the rough hewing. We *must labour* and we *must wait*. Much has already been done, though some critics say enough has not been done. Patience, my brethren; Great Britain, one of the present mistresses of the civilised world, has been hundreds of years toiling up to her present proud position. There was a time when her sons and daughters had to bear the insult of races that were dominant over them—fifty years did not bring them to their present position. Patience, my brethren; toil on towards our elevation. Here stands before you to-day addressing you a practical proof of the efficacy of patient toil and persevering efforts—a living witness that by degrees the bar to our progress is being removed, and though slowly yet steadily we are marching forward; and there are other instances in the other learned professions, proving that opportunities are being given for us to prove that we have ability. But I must remind you of that old proverb, “One swallow does not make a spring.” Others need abilities besides members of the learned professions. Not isolated cases of ability stamp the character of a people, it is the general intelligence that gives them a character for either knowledge or ignorance. Still there is hope for us. Fifty years ago it seemed as impossible for some of us to attain to our present positions, as it seemed impossible for the sun to rise in the west—but how different is the aspect to-day compared with fifty years ago! God *hath been merciful and still is*. Trust Him—*He is working with us!* But, my brethren, I must impress upon your minds the necessity of spending our Jubilee in a manner that will shed lustre upon this generation—let not the future pages of our history be tarnished with any blots occurring in to-day’s proceedings. We have begun well with holy

thanksgiving; let it end with holy joy. Let it be, as it were, an elevated plateau in our march on which we are now standing and viewing the march we have made and *that* now lying before us. And before we have descended from this plateau to resume the onward march, let us gird up our loins, and descend with renewed strength, for much uphill work lies before us! With God beside us, let us advance, bearing always in mind that as a race we are on our trial. Watched on every side by foes as well as friends, we need to be cautious in every respect. Foes with eyes sharp as lynxes to detect the slightest fault and exult over it—friends anxiously looking on and hoping for the best. Let us prove that we deserve sympathy and not contempt—let us quit ourselves like men—let us so perform our part that traducers may be silenced, and friends made glad! Let us bear in mind that the civilised world has constituted itself our judge, and there are some foregone conclusions against us—we have to convince that tribunal that we are not what traducers would make us. It is a great task, we need strength! Left to ourselves, we shall be like straw on the ocean. It is our duty in our thanksgiving for past aid not to forget prayers for help in the struggle before us. This Jubilee must not cause us to put off our armour as though the battle were ended. We must cast ourselves unreservedly upon the bosom of Him who is the source of all strength! And above all, my brethren, let not this attendance on Divine worship this morning be a mere empty pageant—no blessing can come of it in such a case, and you yourselves, brethren, see we need the blessing. My counsel is, let us besiege the heavens with our earnest prayers that God will vouchsafe His help and blessings on us in the march before us—let the Jubilee close with the prayer, “God of our fathers, be the God of their succeeding race!” My brethren, this brings us to our next duty in relation to the Jubilee. We have reached a point in our history where we are pausing and looking around. It behoves us to turn our attention in the march before us to the possibilities of attaining to the full practical advantages of a free people. We must rise to our privilege. The rights of men have been conceded us. Let us utilize them to the utmost. But I feel it a duty to point out to you some hindrances which we, ourselves, are creating, and by them increasing impediments which must be swept away from our paths. These faults, which I shall presently show you, are also amongst other people, but we are so exceptionally circum-

stanced that they tell more disastrously against us than against others. I feel I can take the liberty of pointing them out to you, because I am one of you, on the same platform with yourselves—your dishonour is mine, my honour yours. Well, one of the faults is a want of perseverance with many of us. I have found it in some,* but would like to see it more general. "Persevere and you will conquer, try, try, try again," is a little song full of good sense. Without perseverance there can be no success. Many a man from want of this quality has shattered fair prospects, disappointed friends, and become a curse to himself. Unless we are trained to rise to circumstances, and meet emergencies, we shall never make a name as a people; and the habit of perseverance is the only means of enabling us to do that. We must not allow difficulties to subdue us. I can tell you from experience there is very great pleasure in overcoming difficulties. This habit should be instilled when young; see to it in your children. I have to be thankful that it was one of the lessons instilled in me in my youth. It has stood me in good stead in the practical affairs of life. "*Too much bother*" is a phrase that should at once and for ever be banished from the vocabulary of children, and grown people too. Let them cultivate perseverance—it is one of the means of raising our race and giving us greater command of material wealth; it is a thing that would give us better status. Again, my brethren, there is another quality we stand in need of—*adaptability*; many of us have not got it. What I mean by adaptability is a fitting of oneself into whatever groove fortune has placed us. However distasteful that groove may be, we should endeavour to fit ourselves in it and turn it to the best advantage possible. Do our duty manfully, and make the best of it. But some people continually chafe and make their lives miserable; and, more than this, they shirk their duties because distasteful, instead of making conscience of them and watching their opportunity for something better. When this is the case, men who would help us forward lose faith in us, and when in their power to say to us, "*Come up higher*," they will not say it, because our manner of discharging previous responsibilities was anything but what it ought to have been. Those friends cannot trust us. Adaptability is one of the levers we must use in our elevation. One word of loving counsel to parents: Practise a little more unselfishness for the sake of your children. Through the selfishness of some parents their children's noses are held to the grindstone for

life. Many parents, though poor, could do more for their children than what is done at present. To save themselves from practising self-denial, some parents, with very promising lads, who if opportunity were given them would be ornaments to their race, but their parents, instead of putting them to learn something that requires time for qualification before they can claim wages, and in which trade or profession they would shine, put them to work whilst too young, to bring in the few shillings a week, thus training the mere muscles and not brain. The cause of so much complaint of the want of skilled workmen in this Colony, the cause is no brain power, no skill, no ambition, no rise! Parents, give your promising lads their opportunities either for some skilled handicraft or anything else they may be able to reach. Do not let them say after you are gone, "I must thank my father and mother that I cannot better myself to-day." I know there are some such careless, unambitious parents in every race, but it is my duty to tell you that young men of other races will sooner get a helping hand from their own, if they seek it, than our young men who have been equally unfortunately circumstanced in their youth. There *are* some parents who cannot do better and would be glad to do all they can for their children, but circumstances are against them, and they are forced to accept their conditions; but there are others who are able to place their children's feet on the round of the ladder, and help them to climb, but they *will* not, simply because they would have to suffer some self-denial and inconvenience. My brethren, this must no longer continue so. We have in our march arrived to-day on a platform where we can look around with a calm eye, and see our advantages and disadvantages. We can see our weak points—this is one advantage. Our duty is to fortify them: and this selfishness of some parents is a weak point that we must see to at once, else all we do cannot advance us as a people. There may be individual cases here and there which have surmounted difficulties of surrounding circumstances, and have risen superior to their environment, but these are so many excrescences—they are not the normal growth; the normal growth can only be acquired by parents ungrudgingly doing their duty towards their children, and giving them all advantage they can in qualifying them to fight their battles later on. We need a wider cultivation of brain power. When I speak of brain power, I do not mean that superficial smattering of knowledge that makes the possessor a conceited man or

'conceited woman. I mean that deep draught of knowledge of things and men which gives us keen observations. I mean that power of mind that enables us to take both a broad and a deep view of all we come into contact with, men as well as things,—that power of mind which enables us to take hold of a train of surrounding circumstances, and mould them to our advantage so far as human power can control circumstances,—that power of mind that is sharp enough and quick enough to perceive by the slightest movement of a straw the motion of the tide, and the power to take advantage of that motion,—it is this brain power that enables other races to outstrip ours. The acquirement of this brain power depends upon the style of instruction given to your children. It cannot be acquired by the mere cramming system. What is the use of food in large quantities taken into the stomach when there is no power of digestion? There can be no assimilation. Teachers of our children here to-day, much devolves upon you in this matter of brain power in the rising generation. Make the subject a scientific one: think over it—discuss it. The lever is in your hands, it is for parents to place the fulcrum. We cannot advance by leaps and bounds, but we must not omit to do all we can towards hastening our advancement. In fact, I would prefer a gradual advancement, bearing in mind that the plants that grow the most rapidly are the soonest to decay. Patience, my brethren! but be faithful to the interest of our race. Fail in nothing honourable to this good cause. We owe it to make our privilege a success, not only for our sakes but for the sake of those friends who suffered and sacrificed much to enable us to reach our present position. God used as instruments some of Britain's sons of noble minds to break the bonds of our fathers, and lift them from their lowly position, and bid them stand upright like men. These noble minds effected a double good. Whilst giving us the rights of men, they redeemed their country's honour. We owe them profound gratitude for what they have done for us. Helpless were our fathers, but there were raised up friends to do for them what they themselves could not do; and we, their offspring, owe a debt of gratitude both on their account and ours, for if our fathers were not released from bondage, we, their offspring, would to-day be slaves. This is sufficient answer to all who think it foolish in us to keep this Jubilee. There are some who think so, but it is a duty. But, as I said before, we owe those good men who fought our fathers' battles our gratitude. We must repay

them ! But how ? They are gone to reap higher rewards than what we can give—but their offspring remains ! We can repay the fathers by gladdening the hearts of the sons. We can gladden the hearts of the sons by putting to silence the revilers of our race. Imagine a cloud of witnesses in spirit-land, looking with intense interest on our race towards the coveted possession of influence and respect on which they, that galaxy of good men, started our fathers. Imagine the descendants of these men, still on earth, and, though far off, still watching us with longing eyes, wondering if their fathers' good labour will ever bear commensurate fruit. We can only reward those departed spirits through their offspring who are still in the flesh. How may we reward them ? By proving to their offspring that we are not undeserving the interest their fathers took in our race. The functions of this day are principally for this object. How our hearts do glow at the bare mention of a Granville Sharpe, a Wilberforce, a Buxton, and a galaxy of other names, philanthropists whose descendants we ought to convince that their fathers did not fight in vain. Nor must we forget those nearer home who also had their share of the hatred and obloquy for sympathizing in a humane cause. We owe it to the venerable rector of this place to gladden his heart at the thought that his father did not suffer in vain. If I could transport this assembly to Westminster Abbey, I am sure you would be as much affected as I was when in that building I stood before the monument of Mr. Granville Sharpe. Entering at the north door, viewing monuments as you pass up, you come to Poet Corner branching off to the west. At the right-hand corner stands the monument of that good and great man. Transfixed, I stood, when reading the tablet to his memory,—I felt I was in the presence of that noble spirit, and although the sanctity of the place had previously impressed me, I felt more impressed on reading the records of his disinterested love and labour for our despised race ! Scalding tears coursed down my cheeks, so profoundly moved was my soul ! And although my life was already dedicated to the elevation of my race, on that spot, in the sacred Abbey, standing before Mr. Sharpe's monument, I vowed, God being my helper, to make my life worthy the love and sympathy of such a man ! This is my fixed purpose, —the lodestar of my life ; and I solemnly this day call upon you, my people, by the sacred bonds of nationality,—by the remembrance of those bitter tears and groans of our fathers,—

by those mighty flights of oratory in the British Parliament, moving Great Britain to her centre at the wrong she had been guilty of towards prostrate Africa,—by the jubilant echo, the morning of the 1st of August 1838, of sounds uttered from the hearts of millions through the British West Indies,—by all the noble sentiments of humanity within our breast,—let there be a glorious consummation of the labours of such men! But to be successful there must be unity, there must be intelligent combination—combination in every honourable effort—unselfish combination for the general good. No preferring selfish interest to the general interest. Take good note of the history of the island of St. Domingo, that blot upon the negroes' escutcheon! A want of combination, every man seeking his own to the destruction of the common good, is the cause of the miserable state of their affairs, and the curse of their country and the scandal to negroes—a want of honourable combination. I rejoice to see the elements of combination begun in these Friendly Societies whom I am addressing to-day. You, my brethren of these societies, have a great power for good in your command. Let that power be consecrated to the elevation of our race; but whatever we do must be dependent on the Great Ruler of the universe, else all our combinations can avail us nothing. In our combinations for material prosperity, we must make them subservient to the higher life. We must bear in mind that we are not mere animals, as some would have us believe. We possess a dual individuality—one in common with other animals, the other in common with spiritual beings. In considering our responsibility towards our animal life, we shall fail to be successful if we ignore the responsibility towards our higher life. It is said by some that we, as a race, do not recognise this responsibility. A traveller who has very recently written and published his sentiments on the West Indian negroes, says: "*The negroes are totally without any sense of morals, not as wilfully violating a code which they recognise, but as being for ethical purposes on the level of animals.*" Shall we allow this statement to be verified? God forbid! Let us at this Jubilee solemnly, in this sacred place, register our vows to refute this base libel on our race. The bishops of Barbadoes and of Nassau have contradicted this statement in their reports to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and have shown by their personal experience the utter falseness of such a charge;—but this is not enough. We are maligned by the charge, we

must do all we can to disprove it, and this can only be done by our lives. There are some wretched souls among us that are past feeling, and cannot be reformed except by miracle ; but show me any people on the face of the earth that have not got the same class of degraded beings in spite of their superior advantages and higher civilisation. Must the whole people be classed with those grovelling few? My brethren, let confusion be hurled on this maligner and his abettors. I believe he has abettors. The idea is not his own ; he picked it up in his travels from some enemies of our race who consider themselves injured because we have been restored to the position of men, and are striving for equal privileges. There is no better way of proving this accusation false, than being something more than Christians in name. Let the religion we profess so rule our inner life, that all we do be approved by the Great Master—we shall then need fear no foe, our lives will be *hid in God* ! There is no religion so calculated to raise and purify our lives, and make us fit to be embraced to the bosom of a pure and holy God, as the religion of Jesus Christ ! I may take this opportunity of mentioning to you that I have learnt, with grief, there are some of the young men of this town who have been seduced by the principles of the Free-thinkers and Sceptics, who are endeavouring to destroy faith in the Christian religion. I must in all love warn you to beware ! Such of you are playing into the hands of our maligners. Take away the influence and the restraint of the religion of Jesus Christ, and the soul is left to its own guidance. Take away God from our belief, and man has no higher power than himself in reference to his conscience. No standard of right but his own will, his own desires. And we know when a man recognises only his will and desires as *his* rule of life, how quickly he descends to the level of brutes. Nothing better would please our maligners than to see us, as a race, renounce the Christian faith, throw off its restraining influence, and recognise no higher life than the animal. Before concluding, I would suggest a thought in reference to our future destiny as a race, and heighten the idea of our responsibility. I think that God, in His inscrutable wisdom, permitted our fathers to be brought to the western continent and islands, in order to be trained for a special purpose. If this be so, we have a great responsibility ! Nothing happens without God's cognisance and permission, and the wicked acts of men He often turns to His glory. We may have been brought into contact

with European influence and civilisation, to be trained as instruments in lifting our fatherland from her prostration. This work may be reserved for her own sons. Others may go and labour, but it is like gathering grains of sand from the sea-shore; the great upheaval, I believe, is reserved for her own sons in God's good time. And though the training be severe, and the discipline bitter, we must still hope and work towards the consummation; and although we now living may not be witnesses in the flesh, for the distant boom of the eternal ocean is sounding in the ears of many of us, yet we must yield ourselves willing instruments in God's hand for fulfilling His design. We must work and hope for the certain fulfilment of the words of the Prophet-Psalmist: "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God, and He will help her." There are some paralleled instances in our history with that of Israel's. Bondsmen for upwards of four hundred years, they were not entrusted with the polity of their nation till well trained in a hard school. When God's time had come, the pride of Pharaoh foolishly came between God's will and its execution—what happened most of us know. Let those proud despisers of our race read a lesson, and learn it, lest they be found fighting against God, and their puny opposition result in their ruin. My brethren, I shall conclude with a personal request. I feel upon me an overwhelming responsibility as a representative of the race. I feel it is the Master who hath taken me by the hand and led me forward, and given me my life's work. Pray for me, brethren. Remember me at the throne of grace. Pray that I be endued with strength and power to overcome the trials and difficulties in my path of duty, for God knows I have my full share! Pray that grace be given me to fulfil my part with honour, that when my life's work is done, and the Master bids me come up higher, I may leave footprints behind me with bright traces, guiding those who are following and bringing the fortunes of our race to a glorious consummation. Amen.

2. St. Andrew's: Presbyterian.

Service was held at St. Andrew's Church on Wednesday morning at 8 o'clock, when there was a large number present. The Rev. George Stephen conducted the devotional services; and the Rev. W. B. Ritchie preached a sermon, taking his

text from St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon, from the 10th verse to the end of the 19th. He said :—

This very short Epistle is interesting to us for two reasons. First of all, it is a private letter; and although we may well suppose that St. Paul wrote many such, this is the only one of the kind that has come down to our day. Second, it teaches with reasonable fairness and with considerate delicacy, the subject which must to some extent be occupying our thoughts on the morning of Freedom's Jubilee. The circumstances which call forth the letter are very easily described. Onesimus, the profitable or useful person, as slaves were often designated in those days, had belonged to a Christian master, Philemon, one of St. Paul's converts at Colossa. But for some reason or other the slave stole away from his servitude, packed his goods, and probably some of his master's at the same time, and took to his heels. He was in that runaway condition when the apostle, fortuitously or otherwise, came across his track in Rome, made his acquaintance, instructed him in the gospel, and introduced him to the bondage which is perfect freedom, and thereafter despatched him to his master with this gracious epistle. It is not unlikely that to-day some will be engaged setting the hardships and the disadvantages of the old time against the freedom and privilege of the present order of things. And perhaps the inhumanity, the injustice, the unchristianity of slavery will, in some quarters, be freely enough denounced. We must leave the one line of remark to those who know more about the local history of the domestic institution, as the Americans called it, than we do; and we must leave the other line of remark to those who feel more strongly in the matter than we can be expected to do. What I propose to do is, first, to remind you of some facts, and second, draw therefrom a few conclusions regarding slavery and freedom. I think we minister to a prejudice by forgetting how old and how widespread an institution slavery is. You find it in all ages, and among the greatest nations of the world, from the democracy of the Greek Republics, to that of the Southern States of America; you find it in imperial Rome, and in the feudal system of England and France. There is indeed a high probability that the ancestors of any of us may, at some time or other, have been slaves. And thank God for His grace to us that we are now the free men we ought to be. That is our first fact. The second is this, — even

among the Jews the institution was acknowledged and regulated by Divine command. An Israelite might sell himself into bondage, or Israelites might take captives in war, although the servitude need only last in the first case for six years, and in the second for no more than forty-nine years, all slaves being liberated in the year of Jubilee. But our facts gather up significance as we proceed. When the splendid humanity of Jesus Christ took the world into its pure embrace, universal slavery was a feature of the Universal Empire. But, so far as we know, Christ lifted no voice against it, although Roman servitude was not infrequently associated with an inhumanity the West Indies never knew. Once when He referred to a slave, ploughing during the day, and waiting on his master in the evening, it was for the purpose of warning His disciples that the services could never be profitable enough. It is true that Jesus had very exalted conceptions of what services ought to be, and He set free some truth about the subject which rings slavery's knell. My last fact is this,—St. Paul makes frequent reference to bondage. In reference to the institution, the apostle is more frequent and more explicit than the Master; in vituperation he is as gentle. Once he tells the Corinthians not to trouble themselves about their servitude; if they could be free, so much the better. In the letter to Philemon, he tacitly admits that the Christian may retain his bondsmen, for he suggests that Onesimus be taken back to his service; and, most suggestive of all, and prophetic, too, in a high degree, is the figurative speech in which he called himself a bond-servant of Jesus Christ. It seems, then, that what is called slavery or bondage is of moment in the philosophy of history, and a stage in the civilisation of a people. It is not the best or last; but life cannot always be at its best and last. Perhaps it is not even at its best when we get what is called freedom. History does not always repeat itself, even in matters of so great importance; for God who has spoken has also worked in diverse manners. And it does seem as if now He was employing kinder agents and gentler methods for the bringing in of the nations. Still, if we look calmly and fairly at the subject, as we should surely be able to do after fifty years of freedom, we may perhaps find there was a blessing in our bondage. There was a time when people of an older, but, I believe, of a less correct school of thought than ours, saw absolutely no good in any of the religions of heathenism. But a more liberal and more accurate study of things is

revealed to us, and that is that unless they had some purpose to serve, and unless they had been rooted in truth, although grown in corruption, they could not have existed. The same argument applies to social as well as to religious institutions, and to bondage among the rest. It could not have lived as it did in the world, if it had not had a truth at its root. But perhaps it is with the race as with the individual. When a man is just passing through his sorrow, it is its darkness, its sickness, and its pain of which he is immediately conscious. Its deeper purpose is hidden for the moment, and he may feel so sore as to curse the day of his birth, or to charge God with inhumanity. But it is only after a while he can say, "It is good for me I was afflicted." And thus it may be that our time of bondage, or again the people's bondage, may be like a man's youth when he thinks himself kept under undue restraint and irksome tasks, and during which his superiors keep him in check. But the greater and more joyous purpose is not recognised until he has lived through his teens, or perhaps pretty far into his majority. We require to see things at some distance before we can catch their true proportions, or understand or see them in their right perspective. And perhaps such is a truer and more profitable view of the old time than the one which declared it to be absolutely wrong. God forbid we should overlook the injustice or the inhumanity that was too often associated with the slave traffic, and God forbid also we should forget that injustice and inhumanity are possibly adjuncts to much that is perpetrated in the name of freedom. But why should the inhumanity of our bondage be our only remembrance of it? Is it not a fact that a great part of the Jews got a great part of their schooling in Egypt? They went down a lot of comparatively uninstructed shepherds, and they came out of their bondage a great people, learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. And what would thousands in the West Indies and Southern States of America be to-day, if they had not passed through their captivity. Why, brethren, our captivity was the forerunner of a freedom one could hardly ever have hoped to possess; and our toil the earnest to the inhabitants that might have been ours before now, and will still be ours when we are made free by the truth. Such is the first lesson, and the first conclusion, we draw from the old institution. Other lessons to be learned from our statement of facts are, that all men desire to be free; that there is a freedom that is right, and a liberty that is hurtful; that the freedom

which can be obtained by running away is wrong ; that the freedom which is right can only be secured after we have learned the truth. There are many lines and points here, but for the sake of saving time we must make haste to look at things. In these days every man wants to be free. St. Paul wanted to be free ; he gloried in his free birth. "I am a Roman citizen," he said, and he chafed under his bonds. Epictetus wanted to be free, and he often spoke about freedom ; but that noble slave only betook himself more closely to his studies, and lived on the more contentedly in his master's service. I had rather have been Epictetus, the slave with brains, than Epictetus' master, the lord without any. It is not so paradoxical as it seems. Onesimus wanted to be free, so he broke his bonds and escaped to Rome, to be nothing to any man, and expecting no man to be anything to him. To escape to the great city ; to spend what he had first,—for the rest, if need be, to have his chance among the multitudinous beggars, was undoubtedly the Onesimus conception of freedom. But St. Paul laid his hand upon him, and with earnest look, and with his earnest words, said, "Onesimus, very good sir, this is liberty perhaps, but I desire to tell you it is not freedom." St. Paul's treatment of that runaway shows us well! what freedom is not, and again what it is, and again how it is to be got. To be free is not exactly to escape from authority ; nor is it to lay down the shovel or the hoe ; nor is it to sunder the ties that bind master and servant. For us to do any of these things in the name of freedom, is to descend to a lower status than that which we occupied in bondage. It is to go down from slavery to barbarism. To be free is not to be loosed from our fellow-men—it is rather to be more properly, and therefore more truly, tied to them. It is not to destroy relations between masters and servants, but rather to fulfil these relations. The cardinal sin of servitude between master and servant was, that it made the servant into a thing ; it made him a piece of furniture ; and forgot that the servant was a man or a woman. It made too much of everything of what the servant owed to the master, and too little or nothing of what the master owed to the servant. And thus it was that, individual regard being intellectually wrong and spiritually lacking, it required some gentle teaching to bring master and servant to their right mind in the matter. A great war could not have done it. The act of an English sovereign cannot make a man free, but Christ and St. Paul could do it, and

they did it. And that gentle paradox, "whosoever would be chief among men, let him be your servant, even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister," suggested a fresh view of human labour. It lifted work into service, and service into mutual helpfulness. They taught the master that the servant was a man; that the master was his superior. Then, as Paul preached that gentle and fruitful sentiment, slavery assumed merely a mutual type, and at length, though not for long, it vanished from the nations. We should remember that intellectual error and moral wrong can only be removed by the infiltration of truth, and thus Onesimus becomes as good as free. Now, brethren, I have been describing what it is to be free, and how we can be set free. And whether or not we of this Colony have been justifying our liberty and the kind of freedom which is described, we can easily determine. We can easily determine, I say, by putting and answering to ourselves a few very simple questions. Publicly, what is the tone of the Church, the Law Courts, the Press of this Colony? Is the Church grown kinder, more tolerant, purer, more zealous? Are the Courts and the Bar wiser and juster? Is the Press freer and more truly critical? Last of all, have we provided a better schooling for our little children? Privately, what of our industry? Have we been working harder as free men than we did when we were slaves? Is there more land in cultivation now than before, or is there less? Is the commerce passing into the hands of the freed men or their children, or is it passing into the hands of strangers? Are our dwelling-houses better than they once were? Are our social relations purer and sweeter than before? Are there fewer poor, and are those few better taken care of? Is the population increasing? Is there any reasonable prospect that the inhabitants of the country will be able, like the Canadians and Australians, to govern themselves erelong? Have we a more independent spirit, are we proud enough to work rather than to beg? Do we endeavour to keep our promises, and to pay our debts? Have we got rid of the injustice and inhumanity which we say characterized the old slave-holder? Do we understand what Christ meant when He told us to love one another? Brethren, if one can answer such questions in the affirmative, we may thank God indeed for fifty years of freedom, and congratulate ourselves on this bright day of Jubilee.

3. Roman Catholic Cathedral.

At 8 o'clock on Wednesday morning, in conformity with the general practice in the celebration of the Emancipation-Jubilee, Holy Mass was celebrated at the Catholic cathedral, Brickdam. A fair number of the African Catholics were present on the occasion, His Excellency the Governor and his private secretary being also present. Very Reverend Father Scoles was the celebrant of the Mass, and preached the following sermon, well suited to the occasion :—

The feast the Holy Church is celebrating, my brethren, chimes in well with this day of general rejoicing in the Colony. On this the 1st of August we commemorate in the spirit of thanksgiving the miraculous release of St. Peter from his chains and imprisonment. You know well, dear brethren, the sacred story as narrated in the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and read in the Epistle in this morning's Mass: there we are told of Herod's persecution of the infant Church, for the Church of Christ must ever be persecuted either in its head or in its members. Now we read how Herod, having killed with the sword St. James, the brother of St. John, and seeing it pleased the people, apprehended St. Peter and cast him into prison, loading him with heavy chains, intending when the days of the Azymes were over to bring him to judgment,—and how God in His goodness sent His angel in the night, who, striking Peter in his slumber, fast bound in chains between two soldiers, bade him arise,—and, Peter arising, the chains fell from off his hands, and the angel ordered him to gird himself, put on his sandals, and cast his garments about him and follow. Peter followed the angel, thinking all the while he saw a vision; and when he passed the first and second ward and came to the iron gate of the city, it opened to them, and passing through the first street the angel left him, and Peter, coming to himself, said, "Now I know indeed that God has sent His angel and has delivered me out of the hands of Herod and from the expectations of the judges of the Jews."

We read, too, how the faithful had been praying God for the release of Peter, their chief pastor, for they knew how necessary it was that Peter should be free to do the great work commissioned to him by God to preach the gospel and plant the Church, to go forth teaching and baptizing and disposing men's hearts to penance. So, my dear brethren, if it is of a necessity that the Church in its ministration should be free and

unfettered and uncontrolled by human power, so, too, though in a less degree, should her children be free to participate in the privileges held out to them by religion, free to practise to the full that holy religion preached to them.

My brethren, of all temporal blessings few are to be compared to the blessing of liberty. Man has a right (shall we call it a Divine right?) to be free—free as long as he by no serious fault or breach of the law forfeits not his liberty. As the animals were created by God in His goodness for man, to serve him, "*for man's use and benefit*," so man was created by his God, not to be a slave to his fellow-man, but freely to serve his Creator, to give at times, it may be, a *reasonable obedience* to others in God and for God, that in this our world of many men and many minds, right order may exist and be preserved.

It is then a great blessing this freedom you now possess, and love to boast and make so much of, not, I must say, simply because it enables or leaves you free to go where you like, to cross the wide ocean if so you list, to change your employment and give up your employer as you may desire, to build for yourself a house, to take to yourself a wife, to acquire property and land, to till or let it lie fallow as you choose, to dress according to your fancy, and provide food to suit your taste,—to be, in one short word, your own dear master. Liberty is a blessing not on account of these advantages, as you may call them, but, seen from a religious standpoint, it is an inestimable blessing, because it enables man to serve his God by giving him the means of practising to the full his religion, and enjoying all its many privileges in giving him more means to serve his God and more opportunities of saving his soul.

In ancient days the poor African was decoyed from his hut or home by vile slave-hunters on the African coast, or kidnapped upon the shore, and packed off or stowed away like live stock in the wretched holds of vessels prepared for the wicked traffic, brought to the West Indian Islands and to these our shores. Then were they sold like beasts of burden to the highest, maybe the cruellest bidder,—men of no religion, of no humanity, and of less morality,—and under such cruel and immoral masters did those sad specimens of humanity pass their few embittered days of slavery, living in total ignorance of their God and the noble end for which they were created and sent into this world,—treated with less consideration than the beasts of burden or the stubborn mules of their cruel

masters,—suffering hard stripes for small offences; and, far worse than all, never a kind word to encourage them in their efforts, to please or console them in their pains and miseries; never a smile to cheer them or gentle whisper in their ear, as St. Peter Llaver was wont to give, telling them that pains and hardships borne with patience and resignation for Christ's dear sake became high Christian virtues, pleasing to God and meritorious for the soul. No kind soul was there to teach them how their Divine Master suffered stripes and died in disgrace for their sins, and to purchase for them an eternity of happiness and everlasting freedom. The foreground of the picture to the planter in those ancient days might have been bright enough, for their money profits were large, but the dark and dismal background disfigured and marred it all. But, thank God, those days are past and gone, and you are free and freeborn. But the point I wish to insist upon this morning is that this liberty you now enjoy brings with it a great spiritual benefit, for, as I said, it enables you to practise without let or hindrance your holy religion, and secures for you the enjoyment of so many of its choicest blessings, and this you will more easily see by comparing the *past* with the *present*. In the dark days of slavery you could not hear the voice of God's priests telling you of the things of heaven, and awakening in your souls sentiments of piety, love, or contrition. Children were born to you, and died,—so many of them without the waters of regeneration securing for them an eternity of happiness through Christ's precious blood; and when the sinner fell into sin, there were none to speak to him—none but the dull and half-stifled voice of conscience told him of his fall. No priest was there to stir him to contrition, or there to pronounce in God's holy name, and by the power of God and the authority of His Church, words of pardon and reconciliation; and who were those, I ask, in those dark, dismal days, who even knew of the great gift of God to man in the blessed sacrament of the altar? Few, indeed, were those who assisted at the Eucharistic sacrifice; and as to that *great sacrament*, as St. Paul called it, the sacrament of matrimony, scarce any were joined in holy wedlock, or knew the beauty of Christian continency or chastity, or understood the meaning of that most heavenly word, Angelic Purity. Morals had sunk so low, and those whom the poor African should have looked up to for models of virtue, examples of Christian morality, were sunk themselves yet deeper far in the depths of sin and degradation. There were, it is true, some

Catholic managers or proprietors in those days who did provide for the spiritual wants of those entrusted to their care, but the tide of evil ran so high, swiftly sweeping all around them, that few preserved themselves in the general ruin or total shipwreck.

And to these poor, uncared, abandoned ones, created, indeed, in God's image and likeness, who consoled them in their last moments and prepared them for the last momentous journey, and for their judgment? who calmed their fears or whispered words of consolation to their troubled souls, or bid them look to Him who had died for them for mercy and pardon? No priest was there to carry out the injunction of St. James to pray over the sick and anoint them with oil in the name of the Lord, or give, as we call it, the soothing sacrament of Extreme Unction. None were there to pronounce the words of absolution or read the prayer to the dying: "Go forth, Christian soul, out of this world in the name of God the Father Almighty who created thee, in the name of Jesus Christ who suffered for thee, in the name of the Holy Ghost who sanctified thee."

My brethren, how things have changed in these last fifty or sixty years, and what blessings you of the present day now enjoy! For these, I say, you should rejoice and sing your *Te Deum* of praise and thanksgiving. But, after all, let me ask a practical question: Have the days of slavery quite gone by? Yes, in one sense quite gone by, but in another sense not gone; for remember, dear brethren, there is a slavery far greater, far more disastrous than the African slavery of bygone days—the slavery of sin. There are many slaves of sin and Satan still, for every one who wilfully commits grievous sin forfeits the freedom of the sons of God, and becomes a slave of the great enemy of God and of every good. You, if there are any present who in spite of admonition and the loud voice of conscience still remain obstinate in sin, are in a state of far more deplorable slavery than your unfortunate ancestors of old, and you should remember your sin is more odious in the sight of God than the sin of those to whom our Divine Lord could almost say as from His cross of old, "Father, forgive them, because they *know not what they do.*" You, in these days of freedom and enlightenment, have more to answer for than the poor creatures captured on the African coast, and brought to these shores, untaught and uncared for. You are taught your religion, and much care has been expended on you. Rejoice, then, in true freedom,

—freedom from sin, “in the freedom wherewith Christ has made us free.”

At the conclusion of the Mass, a solemn *Te Deum* was sung, the solo being rendered by Miss Theobald, and Messrs. Chubb, J. Theobald, T. Paddenburg, and J. Davidson, lending their excellent voices with splendid effect in the different parts of the chorus. The choir was under the conductorship of the Rev. Father Barraud; the organist, Mr. A. de Weever, a gentleman of colour, executed with his usual ability some selections from Handel’s “Zadoc the Priest,” as a concluding voluntary.

4. *St. Philip’s Church : Anglican.*

Divine service was held at St. Philip’s Church at 11 A.M. A few minutes before the hour fixed for commencing the service, the Church’s Friendly Society filed into the church, and occupied seats on the north-eastern wing of the building. Shortly afterwards the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, headed by a band of music, entered the churchyard, and afterwards took their seats on the northern side of the main aisle, while the members of the Hand-of-Justice Friendly Society, who followed soon afterwards, occupied the seats on the opposite side of the aisle. The seats that were not reserved for the Friendly Societies were occupied by a respectable and attentive audience, and the church was comfortably full with eager listeners and spectators. The variegated regalias, worn by the members of the different societies, lent a picturesque appearance to that part of the church which had been especially reserved for them. At 11 A.M. the Rev. Canon Castell, preceded by the choristers wearing their surplices, left the vestry, went outside the church and re-entered by the main entrance, where they formed into procession, and, singing the 298th Hymn, they marched to their places in the chancel. The whole of Morning Service was then gone through, the lessons being taken from Isaiah lxi. and Galatians v. The text was taken from Colossians iii. 11: “Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all.” He said:—

The universality of Christ’s kingdom, embracing people of all nations, languages, and climes, is one of those great truths which appear prominently on the pages of God’s Holy Word. We see it written in the first of all God’s gracious

promises to mankind, namely, the overthrow of Satan and his kingdom of darkness through the power of the woman's seed,—that is, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was born very man, incarnate by the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary. We see it again in the promise made to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed;" for, this same Jesus, whose birth we have referred to, was strictly descended according to the flesh from Abraham, the father of the faithful, as may be clearly seen in the genealogical table provided for that purpose by two of the Evangelists, St. Matthew and St. Luke. The Psalms in prophetic strains sing the praises of Him whose "dominion shall be also from the one sea to the other, and from the flood unto the world's end," and who should have "the heathen for His inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for His possession." The prophets, in no less noble and exulting strains, sang of Him, who, though despised and rejected of men, should nevertheless afford redemption unto all people, as witnesseth the prophet Isaiah, for example, who thus declares God speaking to His Anointed One: "I will also give Thee for a light to the Gentiles, that Thou mayest be My salvation unto the end of the earth. Thus saith the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, and His Holy One; to Him whom man despiseth, to Him whom the nation abhorreth, to a servant of rulers, kings shall see and arise, princes also shall worship, because of the Lord that is faithful, and the Holy One of Israel, and He shall choose Thee." Similar passages of no less force and sublimity, each attesting to the widespread influences and effects of Christ's reign on earth, may be found in all of the greater prophets' writings, as well as in the books of the so-called minor prophets. Other indications were not wanting, even in Old Testament times, that the kingdom to be established was intended to cover a world-wide area, but the full purpose of God was not made manifest until the advent of the Messiah Himself, when the angel of the Lord proclaimed His birth in language which is of universal signification, and applicable to all men, "Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people, for unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord,"—a blessed truth which was borne testimony to by the anthem which angelic choirs then took up and sang, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men." Not less did the arrival of those three wise men from the East with their symbolic gifts signify that One

was born to whom homage should be paid by strangers and foreigners as well as by His own kindred. But it was not until the period of His active ministrations had arrived that the purpose of His advent upon earth was fully manifested, but there was no doubt left as to what He claimed to be, or as to the object of His coming after those opening words of His, spoken in the synagogue at Nazareth shortly after His first great conquest over Satan in the wilderness, for, taking the book of the prophet Isaiah in His hand, delivered unto Him by the elders of the synagogue, He thus showed that its prophecies, as we have already seen, were to receive their fullest interpretation and fulfilment in Himself: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor; He hath sent Me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

This acceptable year of the Lord was none other than the year of the Great Jubilee, when the typical freeing of slaves and "other works of mercy, which were ordered in the law, were accomplished in their spiritual sense by Him who ransomed all men from the bondage of Satan, and brought them into the 'glorious liberty' of His own kingdom."

This year, as you all know, doubtless, was the fiftieth year after the succession of seven Sabbatical years, in which, as we are told, "all the land which had been alienated returned to the families of those to whom it had been allotted in the original distribution, and all bondmen of Hebrew blood were liberated. . . . The year was inaugurated on the Day of Atonement with the blowing of trumpets throughout the land, and by a proclamation of universal liberty." It is not necessary for us to inquire further into particulars concerning the origin, nature, and purpose of the year of Jubilee; sufficient has been said to denote that the custom of holding Jubilees, so common in these days, has a sacred precedent, and one which—in the case of the Jubilee of Emancipation, which you are met together this day to commemorate by acts of religious worship—is especially significant and full of meaning. For it denotes, in the first place, that slavery was never intended to remain as a permanent feature under any state or kingdom that has God for its ruler. The Jewish form of government was eminently theocratic at its outset, and it was while it was in this condition that the laws were enacted which were to govern the com-

paratively mild form of slavery that existed among the Jews. Every person who had bondmen under him, and every person who had become subject to bondage through unforeseen circumstances, were each to know that it was not an unalterable condition; that every fiftieth year would witness a restoration to equality and liberty on all sides, and the unevenly balanced scales of oppression and slavery be ever and again readjusted. Into the benefits and advantages arising from such a state of affairs we need not pause to inquire, but it may be remarked in passing, that, apart from these, there is the benefit we derive from the fact of the Jubilee being a standing witness unto all generations of the eternal truth of that great principle laid down by God Himself, which to-day we reiterate with solemn thankfulness, viz. the principle of Emancipation,—the principle that, in the sight of God, there is an equality of a certain order accorded to every man,—the principle affirmed of St. Paul, “That God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.”

The same principle is affirmed in many other passages to be found scattered throughout the Epistles. Among the most striking are those which contain almost similar expressions to those of our text. Such, for instance, is the passage in Galatians, where the apostle is affirming with great force and earnestness the unity of the body of Christ: “As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.” “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.”

In the text itself the apostle, after pointing to Christ Jesus as the fount and origin of the renewal in man's nature caused by baptism, proceeds to state how universal is this power of Christ in and over the hearts of all men. “Where,” says he—that is, in whom—“there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all.”

The category is an all-exhaustive and most comprehensive one, for the term Greek is not to be understood as referring to the inhabitants of Greece, but to foreigners,—all, that is to say, who were not Jews; whilst the terms circumcision and uncircumcision are yet more explicit as referring to all nations, those in covenant with God by virtue of circumcision, and those which were not. But to make the passage still more forcible, the apostle introduces two other races of people, and

declares that not even the Scythian and Barbarian—uncivilised nations, that is—shall be exempt from the love of God in and through Christ Jesus; and, as if still more to arrest the attention, and certainly it ought to on such a day as this, even to the bond as well as to the free, "Christ is all and in all." That is to say, even when slavery held its sway, Christ was as truly the Lord and Saviour of the one class as that of the other, and, as we shall now go on to see, it was Christianity that was principally instrumental in loosening the fetters of slavery.

For even if it be alleged that the fact of slavery being permitted under any circumstances in the Old Testament (express sanction being, according to it, apparently, in the curse that was laid on Canaan the son of Ham), was and is a proof of its legality, we simply answer that in the New Testament all that was imperfect or faulty under the Old Testament was abolished at once, or intended to be abolished, and that the condition of slavery, whether bodily or physically, whether actually, mentally, or morally, was never once sanctioned by the spirit of Christianity; for, as we have already seen, the kingdom which Christ came to establish was intended from the very outset to be an all-embracing one, and that in Christ Jesus, the Founder of it, all men incorporated into it were to become One in the strictest sense of the word. Into the historical aspect of the case, from the time of the establishment of Christ's kingdom until now, there is not time to enter, but your attention may be drawn in passing to the picture which St. Luke draws of Christian communities living together in peace, harmony, and concord, being all of one mind and having all things in common,—a state of affairs as far removed from that of holding one another in bondage as can possibly be imagined. As Christianity began to spread, however, it not only set a silent example as to the condition of all who embraced it, but it was compelled to raise up its voice, and denounce the outrageous system of slavery practised at the time by the so-called civilised nations. The records of it are simply appalling, and in many respects the cruelties practised were worse than those of later times. The gospel taught that the slave is a man, and must be treated as such. It had no power to make or alter the civil laws respecting slavery, but it laid down a charter of freedom and gave it to the world, and the world gradually adopted it. Slaves were manumitted by thousands, we are told, on the ground that those who had

become children of God ought no longer to remain slaves of men. It did not externally abolish slavery, however, and it certainly insisted on obedience as a part of its integral teaching.

Christianity did not tempt the vast number of slaves which abounded in those early days with promises of liberty, except that of liberty in the gospel; nay, it put further restraints upon them, for example, "Servants, be obedient to your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart, as unto Christ;" or again, "Art thou called being a slave? care not for it; but use it rather;" but at the same time it taught all to recognise in the slave a man, a Christian brother, and thus inwardly shattered this degrading institution.

Slavery never ceased wholly to exist, but it was always kept in check, by the voice of Christianity being for ever directed against it, until at length it assumed a new form and impetus, under circumstances we will briefly refer to.

A revival of the slave trade began in 1444 in the form of the traffic in negroes by the Portuguese, and gradually Spain, England, France, and Holland took part in it; but Christianity is not answerable for all the iniquity which those who bear its name practise. It is to the shame, of course, of all those Christian nations which shared in its iniquity, that negro slavery, with which we are more especially concerned this day, should have taken its rise within the last four hundred years, and permeated nearly the whole of that period with its disgusting and horrible atrocities; but while so-called Christian nations and professing Christian individuals were not ashamed to amass riches by means of a most unchristian course of proceedings, there was being raised up against them a constant stream of opposition on the part of Christian missionaries, and at last the final overthrow of the system took place—for it is now virtually at an end, praised be God—throughout the whole of the civilised world: and this great result is distinctly traceable to Christian efforts and influence, and the names of Wilberforce, Clarkson, Brougham, Howard, and other Christian philanthropists who were eminent in bringing about that particular Act of Emancipation which all of us are rejoicing over this day, will ever be remembered with gratitude, both by those who are directly benefited by it themselves, and by those also who rejoice that the great Christian nation to which they belong has no longer the slur cast upon it which formerly it had.

It is a fact hitherto unparalleled in history, that the *conscience of a whole nation should have been touched*, as, it has been well remarked, was the case with England; and she showed the reality of her contrition by her works, spending twenty million pounds sterling to liberate her slaves, and it has brought a blessing on herself as well as on the African race. Ever since England has had a *public* conscience, which has been shown in her enlarged sympathy for the poor, and in the extension of her efforts for national temperance, purity, and such like.

It will be seen, then, thus far that the text has reference to two great truths or principles. First, it teaches us that Christianity never recognised any spiritual distinctions between either bond or free, but taught rather that in Christ Jesus all men are considered as members of the One Great Family of God; and secondly, while it taught that Christianity might exist alongside of slavery, and the slaves themselves become partakers of all its benefits and privileges otherwise, yet it strove with all its might and main to obliterate a condition which it considered was prejudicial to the spiritual interests of all concerned, whether slaves or slave-owners. That it has succeeded in so doing to a great extent we have already seen. Let us proceed to inquire how far Christianity has been justified in her attempts, and in so doing we will confine ourselves to observations respecting those inhabitants of the West Indies, including our own Colony, who fifty years ago received their freedom at the hands of the British Government.

The great majority of those who actually received freedom, are, of course, dead and gone, or have become old men and women, but their children remain, and the question for us to consider, an intensely practical one, and of the greatest weight to all interested in the future of the colonies referred to, is this, "How far have the descendants of those who were freed profited by the state or condition into which they have entered? have they profited at all? Has society or the community at large, or the nation which conferred emancipation, benefited by it? Have those Christian philanthropists, whose names we mentioned a short while ago, been justified?" The minds of men have been exercised on these and similar questions for years past, and latterly they have assumed considerable importance again through the writings of such men as Mr. Froude and Mr. Salmon, who, as you know, take almost diametrically opposite views, and they have many partisans on both sides.

But we will not enter into the political aspect of the question. As a clergyman and teacher of the gospel, I am chiefly concerned with the ethical view of it; and my own opinion is, after more than twenty years' work amongst the people referred to, that the questions put may certainly be answered, all of them, in the affirmative sense. I do most certainly believe that while much, very much, remains to be done, that whilst at times there is much to cause anxiety and despondency, yet on the whole progress is observable along the whole line, and the descendants of the freed man generally in this part of the world will, by the aid of religion and education combined, by the aid of those influences which foster good, and those remedial measures which are taken to suppress vice, rise eventually to take their place as citizens of the greatest Christian nation of the world, of whom no one will be ashamed to speak well.

And I am happy to say that I am not alone in forming this opinion. There is the testimony, to begin with, supplied by great authorities that the African race in itself, and apart from all contaminating influences, possesses traits which are capable of development into great and sterling qualities.

Dr. Blyden, in his recent work on *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race*, says, "All truthful travellers in Africa testify to the courteous disposition of the interior natives, those who have never been tampered with by either Arabs or Europeans. They are confiding, unsuspicious, childlike, hospitable, honest, peaceable, and anxious to learn." Thomson, the explorer, says, "Of the natives of Africa, I have for the most part nothing but good to say." We all know the testimony which the celebrated traveller Mungo Park afforded respecting the kindness and hospitality evinced towards him. Mr. Stanley says, "The conduct of the first natives to whom we were introduced pleased us all. They showed themselves in a very amiable light; sold their corn cheaply, and without fuss; behaved themselves decently and with propriety." The celebrated missionary and explorer Dr. Livingstone was enabled to spend years of contentment and happiness in Africa, continually meeting with assistance and support rendered by the natives, and, as Dr. Blyden remarks, "In all history, where is there anything more touching than that ever memorable conveyance by faithful hands of the remains of the missionary traveller from the land of strangers, over thousands of miles, to the country of the deceased?" There is the testimony, also,

afforded from several other sources, that even with all the evil influences inherited from slavery, and the temptations by which he is met, and the horrible surroundings by which he is too often environed, that the descendant of slavery, both in the West Indies and in America, can struggle on under all these difficulties, and be at least a respectable and industrious factor of the community to which he belongs. Even if it can be proved that such as these are exceptions to the general rule, they are certainly honourable ones, considering the short time that has elapsed since slavery took place and the disadvantages spoken of; and they help to prove, at any rate, that under more favourable circumstances, which are rising up gradually on all sides, the portion of the community referred to will be enabled to take its proper place in helping to promote the general welfare.

The present Bishop of Jamaica has lately indignantly repudiated the wholesale slurs and aspersions cast upon the members of the African race among whom his labours are cast. The Bishop of Nassau thinks that the future of the Church in his diocese depends mainly on the energy of the black and coloured portion of the population.

The late Bishop of Barbadoes, Dr. Mitchinson, in the course of the Commemoration Sermon recently delivered at Oxford, in forming an estimate of the relative position of Christians of the present day compared with those of old, and contrasting, for example, the virtues and vices of the negro race, ends by saying: "Is he (that is, the West Indian negro) after all so very unlike those Christians—not the eminent saints, but the rank and file of imperfect Christians—to whom St. Paul wrote in such very plain terms on the duties of the Christian life in the first century of the Church's existence?" And I am sure it will have been observed with pleasure by all who hear me this morning, that our own Bishop, speaking at a recent meeting held in London under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, declares it as his opinion that, considering all the drawbacks which the African races in our West Indian dependencies have had to labour under, Christ's name has not been proclaimed to them in vain,—that many have been and are being saved who would otherwise have continued to swell the dark catalogue of vice and folly,—and that they have as a nation qualities which endear them to those that minister among them.

Laymen of eminence are found to coincide with these

opinions. Take, for example, the recent utterances of one of our own colonists who quite recently has written most praiseworthy in refutation of Mr. Froude. Speaking of the influence of ministers of religion, he declares that they in conjunction with the schoolmaster "exercise their beneficent influence to a much greater extent than Mr. Froude wots of;" and continues, "Altogether the outlook is surely not a hopeless one, and especially when it is borne in mind that in the latter part of the nineteenth century more progress in civilisation has been made in the West Indies in a few years, than used to be accomplished by Europeans in whole centuries before the Reformation." And in another place he pays the following well-deserved compliment to the promoters of the Jubilee celebrations :—

"Searching inquiry will satisfy any unbiassed person that the Africans in the British West Indies are rising in civilisation, rather than relapsing into pristine barbarism. . . . The promoters of the Jubilee celebrations have already evinced an amount of self-respect upon the question of commemorating the Emancipation that is really remarkable."

Such are a few opinions formed by men who are competent to judge. They none of them speak despairingly, rather the reverse; and the opinion of many of the clergy coincides with them. So long as we can point, as I can, to instances of hard-working men and women, who live married happily together, keep their houses clean and respectable, send their children to day and Sunday school, train them carefully, attend service themselves regularly, and partake of all the rites of the Church with profit and advantage, live quiet, peaceably, and orderly under circumstances and amidst surroundings which make it almost impossible to do so,—so long, I say, as we can point to families living under such conditions as these, there is hope for the future; whilst if others could only be induced to emulate the example of the few, relatively speaking, and aim at greater thrift, industry, economy, and advancement in life and morals, we might eventually hope to compare ourselves favourably with any of the more civilised cities of the world.

Let me exhort you all, therefore, to signalize this day of rejoicing by making it the standpoint from whence renewed efforts shall be made to effect greater progress in every respect during the next fifty years, taking Christ, "who is all, and over all," as our text says, and "in whom there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian,

bond nor free," as your great Pattern and Example in thought, word, and deed, even as St. Paul bids you, saying, "Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by Him." So will you be preparing yourselves to take your place hereafter among the great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, which shall stand before the Throne, and before the Lamb, singing the victorious chorus of the redeemed, "Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth."

After the sermon a collection was taken up, and a "Thanksgiving Hymn," composed and set to music by Mr. J. Blades, schoolmaster, and the Hallelujah Chorus were sung, and the benediction was pronounced.

The different Societies then reformed into procession, and marched to their Lodges, where they separated.

5. *Trinity Chapel.*

Divine service in connection with the celebration of the Jubilee of Emancipation was held at Trinity Wesleyan Chapel on Wednesday morning at 11 o'clock. Some time before the commencement of the service, the Trinity Band of Hope and the Trinity Friendly Society, headed by a small band, marched from Trinity Hall around the square in which St. Philip's Church stands, back to the central entrance to the chapel, into which they filed, occupying the body of the church, which had been specially set apart for them. The Rev. Paul Ellis conducted the service, and, taking for his text the 34th verse of the 14th chapter of Proverbs, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people," he said:—

Their service that day was very properly one of rejoicing, a time of jubilation, of gladness and thanksgiving. But it was fitting that they should look back upon the past fifty years of liberty, and give God thanks for what He did when He laid bare His arm and abolished fifty years that day the great and terrible evil of slavery. It was fitting that they should look forward, but it was equally fitting that they should look back and see what their mistakes had been. It was fitting that there should be at that time of rejoicing, coupled with gladness, a strong and sincere sorrow for sin. It was fitting that they should then in God's name make the resolution that as for them and their houses, they would serve the Lord; that

as for them, they would strive to be just the people they ought to be; that they would strive to make the progress that they ought to make; that they would strive to advance as much as they could; that they would strive to rise in the social scale and stand as high as the best people in the world. But how should they do it? In what way was it possible for a nation to rise, for an individual to rise, to live in the best possible fashion? How could a man so stand as to win the privileges of the good? How could he spend his time so as to extract from this period of probation the most lasting benefit? In the text he had chosen they were given to know what it was that was the ruling principle that elevated a people, that made them good and noble, and what principally elevated an individual and made him noble. They sometimes thought when they read the newspapers, and read history, when they took just a cursory glance and looked upon the surface of the world, that a people was grand and noble only because of the multitude of their soldiers, the strength of their armies, the perfection of their weapons of warfare. But if they were to look more deeply, and under the surface, they should see things differently: that nations had not been made great so much by their victories, so much by the power of their armies, that their power had not been established so much by those means, as by the way they had gone about doing righteousness. Every lasting empire had for its vanguard that simple word "righteousness." In proportion as the nations of the earth tried to do right, they had established their power, and they had won not merely the admiration of their own generation, but they had won the love of the generations that had followed them. He was sorry to say, but it was true, that very few purely unselfish deeds had ever been done by the nations of the earth — purely unselfish, he would emphasize those words. Such deeds had been very few, as historians had been able to record them. But one of those purely unselfish deeds, purely unselfish national deeds, one of those deeds of pure righteousness, was that done by the nation of England when she abolished slavery. And he said that after doing that, after abolishing that iniquitous slave trade, she had exalted herself in the opinion of mankind by that one deed more than by any battles that she had won, much more than by the skill and wisdom of her statesmen, much more than by anything else. By her battles and her military prowess she might have won the admiration of mankind, but by this one great deed of

righteousness she had lifted herself up for ever in the esteem and the love of man. When her battles should almost have been forgotten,—when the glory of them, at any rate, should have faded in the estimation of man,—when men should advance so far as almost to be able to settle all their disputes by arbitration instead of by the cannon and the bayonet,—when the nation should look back upon this age of which they boasted, with its bloodshed, with its carnage, with its terrible wars, as an almost semi-barbarous age, and when they would regard the people of the present age as semi-barbarians,—when the people of the future should do that, they would yet turn round and glorify the unselfishness of England, and the purely righteous deeds of every nation that had performed such. When the memory of the times of the splendour of the present nations had faded away, the righteousness of those nations would shine forth like the sun. There would still remain love and admiration and gratitude for the righteousness that they had done. Depend upon it, “Righteousness exalteth a nation.” He had said just before that history could not show very many purely unselfish acts of nations. He was sorry it was so, and that was a strong proof that nations were not nearly so righteous as they ought to be, for there was no nation which could claim to be anything like as righteous as it ought to be. There were a great many purely unselfish and righteous deeds for the best nation to do. There were still some black blots, which men were talking about, remaining on the escutcheon of England, which he hoped that the spirit of righteousness, permeating her people, would bid her speedily remove. Passing from the nation to the individual, he observed that just as righteousness exalted a nation, so righteousness lifted up an individual and made him truly noble and worthy of respect and love. It was just that same principle working in the mind that would make his life good. He supposed some of them were wondering what was to be the history of the coming fifty years: What was to be the history of those people? What was to be the history of those children in that sanctuary that day? What was to be the history of those who might perhaps live on twenty or forty years until the coming fifty years? Let them begin at home: What was to be their own individual history? He could not prophesy it in the details, but he would tell them that it would be noble, that it would be a history of good progress and not a history of retrogression, in proportion as their individual lives were righteous lives.

They might wonder to themselves whether they would have so much amount of toil, whether they would get on in life, whether they would be able to become possessors of property, but, he would rather that they should concern themselves—it, would be a much more lasting and permanent benefit if they were to concern themselves—with the question, “Shall I be a good man? Can I manage to be a righteous man?” “Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all those things shall be added unto you;” and there would come afterwards political blessings, social blessings, all kinds of blessings that man was fitted to enjoy, that man was fitted to get according to his station in life, and in proportion as he was a righteous man. The man whose soul and will was governed by the law of righteousness stood up before the world without any of the servile bonds of “hope to rise or fear to fall.” Let them say, “It will not be a reproach to me that fifty years ago my forefathers were in bondage.” If it be a reproach, it was a reproach to those who upheld the system, and not to those who were ground in bondage. Let them say, “It is only a reproach to me that there are dark stains of sin upon my character. It is only a reproach to me, and I ought to feel it, if my nation does wrong.” Let them wipe away the reproach of iniquity from their lives, and then they should be good and true. They need not fear toil; they should have it, but their toil ought to be that of righteous men, inspired with high and holy motives. Whatever they did they might do in the name of the Lord, striving to live according to the law of God, and to glorify Him by their consistent Christian walk. There was more than one kind of bondage. A man might start out in life saying to himself that he was free, that he could do as he liked, go where he pleased; that he would not be bound down to this or that kind of work, and that he intended simply to please himself. That man was likely to end by becoming a miserable wreck. Such would be the end of the man who said to himself that he would do as he pleased, and who did not endeavour to mould his life according to the law of righteousness, and to make himself an excellent man, but gloried in what he deemed to be his independence. He cast away every restraint of God’s holy law, without which if a man attempted to live, instead of becoming noble he would become degraded. Such a man sunk down to the dust. They had all seen wrecks of that kind, and they could go through the streets of the city that very day and encounter them. He had met some in

his experience, once men of health and strength, endowed with intellectual ability, now men not worthy of the name, low and grovelling, merely because they sought to satisfy sensual desires and cravings, which made men wrecks of all that truly made a man. He would say that their future would be a future of progress in proportion as they walked righteously. May God make them righteous people, and there would be no fear about their being noble people. All the faculties that God had given them would be best developed when they walked righteously. If they followed righteousness, those who were alive to celebrate the centenary of the Abolition of Slavery would be able to look back upon the fifty years that had elapsed from the time of the Jubilee as a period marked by continuous progress, and full of blessing. They who were then alive, at any rate, would be able to look back and praise God, because the "righteousness" which "exalteth a nation" had exalted them.

(B) ESSEQUEBO COUNTY.

The day set apart (Wednesday, 1st August) for the celebration of the Jubilee of Emancipation was ushered in by a merry peal of bells from the various churches and chapels at daybreak. Various processions of music on the streets, and the discharge of guns, made the day present a lively aspect. A good many persons, descendants of the black slaves, entertained different views on the necessity of taking part in the celebration, and rendered themselves conspicuous by abstention. On many of the sugar plantations, tradesmen and labourers, who were given the option by their respective employers of taking a holiday, did not avail themselves of the opportunity, but went to work. The day was opened by Thanksgiving Services at Holy Trinity Parish Church; St. Saviour's, Aberdeen; St. Bartholomew's, Queenstown; and Bush Lot Wesleyan Chapel; and large numbers of old people in the two former churches received the Holy Communion, administered by the Rev. Mr. Josa. At St. Bartholomew's, Queenstown, the church was literally packed. The Rev. Mr. Wyllie, in his address to the congregation, said they were met in the house of God to-day to celebrate the Jubilee of Emancipation, and give God thanks for the blessings of freedom. After referring to the discovery of America and origin of the African slave trade, he said that at a meeting of Parliament in 1824, it was decreed that any Englishman found engaged in the slave trade should

be treated as a pirate, and it was from that time that England began to wash her hands of the slave trade. It was then Wilberforce, Canning, and other men, whose names ought to be enshrined in every black man's heart, laboured, and at last God blessed their labours by the passing of an Act in 1833 to abolish slavery. It was thought unfair to those who owned slaves to take away their property, and some agreement was made by which the slaves were to obtain their liberty by purchase, but it was not very long before it became evident that this latter arrangement would never work. It was found next to impossible for the slaves to earn enough for the purchase of freedom. Then another law was brought in, making them free on the 1st August—fifty years ago that day. In order to compensate the owners of these slaves, £20,000,000 (twenty million pounds) were voted by the Parliament of Great Britain. There were no persons publicly thanked, but when they remembered that that twenty million of pounds were added to the national debt of Great Britain, with interest to be paid thereon, they must give thanks to the people of Great Britain for their benevolence. He appealed to his congregation to lift their hearts in gratitude to God, and to the people who paid their ransom. It was a noble thing that the people of Great Britain did to free their ancestors. They hoped that they would respect themselves, and go on progressing from day to day, from year to year, and from century to century, in doing everything that makes the human race better than it was long ago. Let the emancipated race go on from day to day, striving to fulfil their duty, and God would give them strength to assert their manhood. In conclusion, he urged them to appreciate their Christian liberty, and that they would appreciate their liberty as citizens of the British Empire. At the conclusion of the service, the rev. gentleman intimated that the offertory of the day would be contributed in obtaining a permanent memorial for this day, to be placed in the church.

Abolition of Slavery Sermon, preached by Rev. C. SEIFFERTH.

“As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.”—1 PETER ii. 16.

Fifty years have rolled away since the Abolition of Slavery in British dominions. Fifty years—a mere moment in the life of a nation, but a huge portion of even the longest life of men. There are few here who can remember those long ago

days, and those few are mostly men and women with bent knees and hoary hairs, not far from the eternity where all are equal before God.

And the noble band of men, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Brougham, and others, who, in Parliament and out of Parliament, agitated and agitated, until at last the fetters were struck from the slave,—these, too, have all long since passed away.

Now the act of England in doing away with slavery, at a great sacrifice, was one unparalleled in modern times. Sinners—individual men and women—have repented in all ages, and then they have made restitution; the thief has given up his stolen goods, and so on: but here the nation of England, like one man, avowed its sin, professed its repentance, and showed its sincerity by giving twenty millions sterling to make the African, throughout all her vast dominions, free for ever. That was an act without any parallel in modern times. We must go back to old Jewish days, when a whole people lamented their sins before God in sackcloth and ashes, or to the days of Jonah and Nineveh, for anything like it. And this was a very real sacrifice. The sacrifice, then, on the part of England was no sentimental one. She did not sit still with folded hands, bemoaning slavery and praising liberty, but, rising to the full height of her grandeur, with one stamp of her heel she crushed slavery for ever. And the other nations have followed in her wake. France, years ago, bade her slaves be free. Even Spain, lagging behind in the rear of nations as she does, even she has freed the last slave in her last stronghold of slavery, Cuba. Russia had no black slaves; but, influenced by that spirit of liberty which England started, she liberated her white serfs. And now Portugal, the lowest in the scale of European nations, with the most degraded of European peoples, she alone still clings to the skirts of slavery in Africa, its ancient home. Even Brazil, our neighbour, puts her to the blush, for all her subjects are now free.

But this last lingering cloud of a darkness that once spread over all our firmament, this too is doomed to vanish. At no distant day, freedom will, like the mighty ocean, encircle the world in her embrace—be common as the air we breathe.

Now the last fifty years have been years of wonder—we heard all about the grand things that had been done in that space over and over again last year, the Jubilee year, until people got a little tired of it.

But it may be said that the event which has put the most

impressive stamp, not merely on the last fifty years, but on the whole century, is the abolition by England of negro slavery. Well, now, that has been done by Great Britain for your forefathers, and you reap the benefit of it. That was her duty. What is your duty in return? The apostle speaks of being free, but not using liberty as a *cloak*. Liberty is a good thing. Licence, which may be called liberty run mad, is a bad thing. If liberty is used as a cloak, it may cover uncleanness, drunkenness, laziness, insubordination. Then you go into slavery again—and a slavery worse than that abolished fifty years ago, for it is slavery to the devil. Better to be a slave to a human master, who at the worst is not all bad, than to be a slave to Satan, who is utterly depraved.

Now, at the time when Freedom was proclaimed, there were many good people who seemed to think almost that the millennium had come for the African race. Henceforth those who had been slaves would be sober, virtuous, frugal, industrious. Some enthusiasts predicted that the white man would retire from the tropics, the negroes would become planters, would become the rulers of the land, would develop the neglected resources of the countries in which they lived—in a word, would acquire a civilisation equal to that of Europe. These predictions have not been realized. Some of them were too sanguine, others unreasonable. A late prime minister of France lays it down that it takes a thousand years to civilise a nation. That is probably an extravagant estimate. Civilisation does not march quite so slowly as that. But then, on the other hand, certainly fifty years are too small a period for the civilisation of a people. And we must never forget this, liberation was done in a tame fashion. Of course it is easy to be wise after the event, but we can now see that freedom should have been brought about *gradually*. The system of apprenticeship, which was so soon abandoned, should have been faithfully worked out. Men and women, accustomed to the childlike dependence of slavery, should have been slowly advanced to the independence of liberty; just as men who are gradually gaining their eyesight have the light let in on them by degrees. I assert boldly, that if things had been done in this systematic, statesmanlike way, the position of the African race and its descendants in this Colony would have been an infinitely better one to-day.

However, it is useless to lament the past, though one must allude to it in order to point to reasons that explain why our

progress has not been greater. But what *has* been done morally, socially, religiously, by the race that was freed fifty years ago to-day, and by those who have stepped into their places? I say a great deal has been done. Half a century ago, marriage was a mere vague institution to the African and coloured races. Year by year since, the marriage average has risen, and now, though there is still deplorable laxity, you all know it as a sacred law, only to be dispensed with at the peril of your souls. In all our churches we have numbers of communicants, and church-going is common; and though there may be some surface worship, it is not all, or a great deal by all, merely on the surface. At any rate, backsliding is rare amongst those who frequent the Lord's table. And as regards social matters, some cottages one enters are clean and nice; better than some in the agricultural parts of England. Now, what has the rising generation to do during the fifty years on which we enter to-day? They must labour more regularly and steadily than, this fifty years, people have done. They must save money, invest it in the savings bank or in other ways, keep shops, and compete with the alien Portuguese. In fact, more ambition, more discontent with your lot, is required. You ought not to be content, as some of you are, to live in crazy huts, with hardly any water storage, with rooms too few for decency or health. You ought not to be content to be surrounded by foul, undrained soil, when a few hours' shovel work would put things right. "Cleanliness comes next to godliness:" all real Christians believe that now. If you are to make your way in this very much alive nineteenth century, and some of you, by and by, in the twentieth century, you must strive to rise by education, industry, thrift, all sanctified by the fear of God. Much remains to be done. Still something has been done. One who has written much about the West Indies and the African race, says:— "The negro, during *fifty years* of freedom, has made a greater advance than any European nation has made during a *century*."

Now, lastly, remember God has given us freedom to use for Him and His service. Responsibility brings great duties with it. Many may perhaps lament at the last day, when the deeds of misspent lives rise before them, that theirs was not the lot of the dependent, irresponsible slave. How should this Jubilee be kept? First, in returning thanks to God for fifty years' mercies, and then in innocent recreation. Let this hour of worship here be the keynote of the day. Do not let

drunkenness, or evil words, or excess of any sort mar this Jubilee. Be free, but use not liberty as a cloak of sin; for remember that earthly liberty, such liberty as was bestowed half a century ago on some of your forefathers, is not the best freedom. It is transitory, bounded by existence, by the earthly horizon. The best freedom is that from sin by the blood of Jesus Christ. "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

It is to the gospel of Christ slowly working, like leaven, from the first century to this, that we owe the Abolition of Slavery. In gratitude for what that gospel has done, then, let your behaviour this day and every day be such as becomes true Christian freemen, who rejoice in the liberty of the sons of God, who are looking forward to that far better rest the exhausted slave at length enjoyed, when the morn of freedom dawned — even "the rest that remaineth for the people of God."

(C) *BERBICE COUNTY.

The celebrations of the Jubilee of Emancipation passed off very quietly and peaceably in New Amsterdam and neighbourhood. Divine service was held in most of the churches, which were well filled; and sermons appropriate to the occasion were preached.

The Rev. W. Farrar, incumbent of Skelden, occupied the pulpit of All Saints' English Church, and his sermon is printed below.

The Rev. A. C. Pringle conducted service at All Saints' Scotch Church at 8 A.M., his text being, "If the truth shall make you free, you shall be free indeed." He preached from the same text at his own church at Ithaca at midday. In the afternoon he gave a treat to forty-five old slaves and paupers in the parish, and a soiree was held in the schoolroom in the evening.

The Rev. T. A. Franklin preached in the Central Wesleyan Church at midday from the 10th verse of the 25th chapter of Leviticus. In connection with his church, a dinner, generously provided by the kindness of a gentleman connected with the church and a few other friends, was given to the poor people belonging to the congregations in town — Cumberland, Rosignol, and Glasgow. The treat was given in the schoolroom, which was well suited for the purpose, the entrance and the walls

of which were decorated with flowers and flags. This, with the music provided by part of the Asylum Band, made the meal (which in any event would have been a most hearty one) very enjoyable and cheerful. When the old people sat down, the table almost groaned with the beef, ham, puddings, and the numerous etceteras with which it was laden. The guests were feasted and fêted like princes, and waited upon by a band of willing lady waiters. It need not be said that under all these circumstances "ample justice"—to use a hackneyed phrase—was done to the meal. The old folks made a real Jubilee dinner of it, eating as much as they could, and carrying away as much as their pockets could hold. That they were pleased, satisfied, and thankful, their countenances were truthful indexes. After the table was cleared, short addresses were given to the guests by Mr. P. Saunders, Mr. Joseph (of Cumberland), and by an old African from Rosignol, whose oratory was amusing if it was not fluent and graceful. Then the Rev. Mr. Franklin, after telling the people they ought to feel very grateful to the gentleman who had provided the treat, afterwards presented to the most needy clothing and handkerchiefs which had been kindly given him for that purpose by several friends in the Strand, and made up by ladies belonging to the congregation.

In the Mission Chapel, the Rev. J. R. Mittelholzer occupied the pulpit, and preached from the following texts:—Lev. xxx. 11, 12—"A jubilee shall this fiftieth year be unto you . . . It is the jubilee; it shall be holy unto you;" Isaiah lxi. 1, 2—"The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; for He anointed me to preach glad tidings; . . . to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord;" Gal. v. 1—"Stand fast therefore in the liberty where Christ hath made us free."

A service consisting of Mass and a sermon was held in the Roman Catholic Church in the morning. The Rev. Father Rigby was preacher, and he chose John viii. 32-34 as his text.

Thanksgiving Service was also held at Friends at 8 in the morning, the Rev. James Speirs preaching from Gal. v. 1. At the close of the service the children of the day and Sabbath schools, headed by the village band, and "with flags and banners flying," marched through Enfield, Friends, and Sisters, returning to the church, happy themselves, and making all happy about them. After the children and old people had been served with buns, confections, and ginger beer, sports

were carried on till 1 o'clock, and a great many prizes in the form of clothing and jewellery were given away. Before parting, a hearty vote of thanks, at the request of the minister, was accorded to Mr. Bow, of Glasgow, Mr. Stephens, of Lade & Co., and Mr. McEwan, manager of Friends estate, for the gifts they had so kindly and generously given.

A public meeting, to discuss certain resolutions drawn up by the Local Committee, was held in the Mission Chapel on Wednesday evening. The large building was crowded to the door, many being unable to gain access. The proceedings went off according to programme, one interesting feature being that one of the hymns sung was composed by Mr. Williams and set to music by Mr. Carto. We give a report of the meeting. We should have liked to more fully report some of the speeches that have been summarized and do not appear at all, but pressure on our time and space precludes us from doing so.

The chairman, in his opening remarks, said he hardly knew how to address a large assembly like that. One almost felt as if he were standing before the Great Judge of the earth, to see such a large number collected together at such a grand service as that. He wondered whether there was any one present who remembered that day fifty years ago, because it was on a Wednesday that the Freedom was really begun. He could not say that he remembered it. He was only eight years old, and was not in this country. He came to this country sixteen years after that. A question he had often seen asked was, "What has emancipation done for the people?" But if emancipation had done nothing else, it had wiped away an accursed stain from the nation. There was no doubt about it that slavery was an accursed institution; and therefore, if it had done nothing else, emancipation had wiped away that, and made every man and woman free. When he came to the Colony in 1854, the standard of education was not what it is now. When he took over his first curacy, he found that he had to be parson and clerk; he had to read the whole service alone, and had to sing the hymns himself. He had to turn schoolmaster, which he did with a very good heart; and he began the school, opened the school, and kept it every day. He also opened a Sunday school as well as a day school. When he went back to the district some time afterwards, he found everything like what it was in town—it was so changed. He said, therefore, that if emancipation had done nothing else,

it had done that : it had educated the people, which made them understand they have something to live for, and something to work for. If they wanted to know what emancipation had done, let them look around all over the Colony, and see the gentry of the Colony, and see who they are. They were the people's own selves,—they were part and parcel of themselves ; and emancipation had done that. It had been said that the people did not care anything at all about this Freedom day. He should be very sorry to believe that, because there was nothing to be ashamed of, so far as the people were concerned. They could not help that state of things, and they had done their very best to take advantage of the freedom God had given them, and those who were alive fifty years hence would see a very different state of things to what they saw now. They all knew there was a great deal to mourn over, there was a great deal to regret ; but there was a great deal to be thankful for—a very great deal. He had been in this Colony for thirty-four years, and he had seen, he supposed, as much of the Colony as most of those in that chapel. He had seen the Colony at its very worst—if they took the Penal Settlement—and he had seen it at its very best ; and he could only say this, he thanked God he came here after Freedom. Those who were descendants of slaves need never be ashamed of their origin. They knew the Jews were slaves for four hundred years, and they keep up the anniversary of their freedom to this day. They were ordered in the Bible to keep it up, and they still did so. He said, then, to the descendants of slaves in this Colony, “Do not be ashamed of your origin, of what you can't help. Be ashamed of not taking advantage of what God has given you.” But he was quite sure the progress they had made since the day of Freedom was a guarantee that those who are alive fifty years hence will see a very different British Guyana to what they see to-day. The rev. gentleman proceeded to say :—

We want to see you both men and women. We want to see you God-like, Christian men and women. You were given freedom by God Himself ; and if you do not use the gift God has given you, you will have to answer for it. Your freedom has lifted you up, and it will go on lifting you up, until you are lifted up to the skies, and become angels around the throne of God. Now, my friends, I cannot go on addressing you very long, because there are many others who have to address you on special subjects on which I cannot address you. I can only say this, Don't be ashamed of your origin, try to make the best of your freedom,

and never mind when people say, "What have you done?" There are some of you, perhaps, who have not done all that you might have done, but there are many of us who have to confess the same thing. Some people say, "What has freedom done for the West Indies?" I say that is a very unfair question. You ask what has freedom done in fifty years. Now, let us go to England, and ask what freedom has done there; for the English people were slaves originally: they were bought and sold in the streets of Rome as slaves, and it was through that that the gospel was introduced to England. Now, that is about 1300 years ago. The English people have been getting free gradually for 1300 years. You have been free in this Colony for fifty years. Now, I have no hesitation in saying — because I have worked in England as well as in this Colony—that if you take a congregation in British Guyana and (taking all the circumstances into consideration) compare it with a congregation in England, I will give the palm to the one in British Guyana. The English people had to contend for their freedom, every step of it; you, of course, have had it given you, and consequently are under that disadvantage, as people do not always value what they get for nothing. You had not to fight for it, and you did not know the value of it when you got it; and if some of you have shown that you got it too cheaply, you are to be pitied. But, I say, taking everything together, I have no hesitation in saying what I have said. And I say, further, that if those who had to do with giving you freedom had also given you a good example, they might have a little more room for talk and for complaint. People ought not to ask what has been done, but rather what has been left undone—undone in the way of example. And if you people persevere in the way you are going, try to live as Christian free men and free women, I have no hesitation in saying, without being a prophet, you will be a praise and a blessing.

The Rev. James Speirs, the secretary of the Committee, was the next speaker. Beginning, he said, where the chairman had left off, he too had heard lots of people ask what emancipation had done for the people of the West Indies; and he had often wondered if the people asking such a question had ever asked how long the people of the West Indies had enjoyed freedom. Whatever comparison may be made between the people here and the people of Britain, he had no hesitation in saying this, that if you go

back 300 years or 200 years in the history of Britain, you would get a people worse educated than the people here are now. Those in Britain had been enjoying the privileges of Christianity not for fifty years or seventy years, but for centuries, and it was not reasonable, or to be expected, that those here could be equal to those in Great Britain, or that congregations here were equal to those in Great Britain. Giving all due credit to those here, he still thought the congregations in Great Britain were a little bit in advance, but they would need to expect that. He congratulated the people here on the marvellous improvement that had been made during the fifty years since emancipation was given. The speaker then went on to report what had been done by the Committee. The chairman, he said, was waited upon, and asked to summon a meeting of the ministers in town to arrange for the celebration of the Jubilee. The meeting was called, and was held on the 31st May. It was arranged, among other things, that special services should be held in all the town churches on the 1st August, and that was a matter now of the past. It was also arranged that the offertories taken at these services should be given to the missions in Africa, and that the country ministers should be asked to join in this work. They had been asked, and he believed most of them would give either the whole or part of their offertories to the object for which they were asked. However, that would be seen in the report when it was published. It was ultimately arranged that they should endeavour, if possible, to establish a public library in the town of New Amsterdam for the county of Berbice. That was an object which he thought must meet with the hearty good-will of all in the church. He hoped it would, and that they were willing to give the Committee their right hand help. The library they intended to be open to all classes in the county of Berbice, and the annual subscription had been made low with that object. There were three grades of subscriptions. Those paying \$3 a year would be eligible for election to the committee of management; those paying \$2 would have the right to attend and take part in the general business meetings; and those paying \$1 would have all the privileges of the public library. The Committee should like very much also to get a reading-room, where the members of the library might meet for social intercourse and for mutual improvement. It was a great pity that the town did not boast of such a room, but he hoped the day would come when they

would have it, and when all who wished to improve themselves would have the opportunity. Some had said the people did not want a library. He did not like to believe that; if it was so, then it was a pity. But granted it was so, if the people said they did not want a library, how could they be made to want it? Was it by letting them alone? Verily not. Reading required an appetite, and that appetite must be created; and he thought they were endeavouring to create that appetite when they put books within the reach of the people. When he looked at the large assemblage that night, he could almost say it was possible to achieve any good object; but he was almost ashamed to read the amount that had been collected for the library up to date. There had only been \$28.22 collected. Now that did look a little like as if people did not want a library. There were, however, subscription lists still out, and probably would be in the hands of the collectors for some time to come. He had no doubt a public library would be started at this time; but was it to be one with 300 or 500 volumes? It was for the people to say; and he concluded by appealing for contributions, which he said would be received by the Ven. Archdeacon Farrar.

The Rev. Mr. Franklin, who was next called on to address the meeting, said:—

In the providence of God, we are here this evening to commemorate that day on which the glorious proclamation of liberty was heard throughout these lands by the enslaved and the fettered, and that sweet song of praise which liberty inspires ascended to God, for their chains had fallen off, their fetters were broken, and they were free. We can think of few subjects of greater grandeur or sublimity that can possibly engage the contemplative powers of man than that of liberty. It stands intimately connected with the welfare of nations and individuals, and around it cluster some of our noblest aspirations and some of our highest conceptions. It is man's dearest birthright, and nature's joy. Humble thankfulness to Almighty God for the blessings of emancipation is the theme, the keynote of our first resolution. Meet and right it is that gratitude to God should have the first place in the commemoration of this as of all great events which have taken place in our world. It becomes us with the deepest humility to ascribe gratitude to God for the blessings of emancipation. To God, the Source, the Author, the Fountain of every blessing, be the honour, the praise, and the glory ascribed for ever! We are also called

upon in the resolution to express our gratitude to the British nation, as the instrument in the hands of Divine Providence by which the blessings of emancipation have been conveyed to these lands.

“ Loud and perpetual o’er the Atlantic waves
For guilty ages rolled the tide of slaves.”

For thousands of years slavery, that system of tyranny and blood, afflicted the earth ; but it was gloriously eclipsed under the influence of the bright sun of Christianity, and ceased, at all events throughout the British possessions, fifty years ago. England was the last nation in Europe to enter into that accursed traffic in human beings, and, to her eternal honour be it said, she was the first to relinquish it, for which act she wears a crown of glory that encircles her with a halo far brighter than that of all her conquests and battles. She obtained the loan of a hundred million dollars, and paid it as the price of the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, and for this act she is entitled to our sincerest and deepest gratitude. She glories in the fact that her flag of renown, the flag that has braved for centuries the battle and the breeze, never waves o’er a slave. Reference is made in the second resolution to the present occasion as a fitting one to petition His Excellency the Governor and the Honourable the Court of Policy for a higher education generally, and for the establishing of a grammar school in the town of New Amsterdam for the county of Berbice. If liberty is to rejoice in great achievements, it must be accompanied by the light of education. In this supremely important question, the improvement of education, we, the clergy, the representatives of the various Christian denominations in this Colony, must lay much to our charge. The acknowledged importance of education demands the greatest activity and the most persevering effort on the part of all who by virtue of their position and influence are entitled to a voice in the matter. We are charged with the responsibilities involved in the matter of education. If the people of these lands are to rise to positions of honour, eminence, and distinction,—if they are to bear an honourable and important part in shaping the character and the destiny of their country under Divine Providence,—then it is our duty to put forth our best efforts to secure for our young the highest and best education we possibly can. Some of the brightest prospects in this Colony are involved in the matter of education. The future

prosperity of British Guyana will depend very much on the intellectual and moral culture of the people. We recognise the importance and desirability of a higher education, and the establishment of a grammar school in New Amsterdam; we also recognise the necessity of energetic co-operation with the Government on the part of the clergy in order to the bringing about of the great object we have in view. In the interest of education we certainly ought to have some regard to the important office of teacher. Our teachers should be men not only of distinguished ability, but of unblemished reputation, men of energy and perseverance; and such men should be liberally remunerated for their services. The third resolution refers to the present opportunity as a fitting one for a better social and a higher moral improvement of the race. It is our privilege to live in an age distinguished for its intellectual and religious development, remarkable for its scientific achievements, and for its progress in literature and art; an age in which groundless and unwarrantable distinctions, arising from prejudice and imaginary superiority,—and thus creating walls of separation between men created by the same Divine hand and in the same Divine image, and made capable of enjoying the same glorious immortality,—are being wiped away from the face of the earth, and the rights and privileges of men as founded on intellectual and moral worth are being recognised. Distinctions that are now being annihilated by the more enlightened state of the world must open the way to a better social state of things. No doubt there will be difficulties to overcome; but I need hardly remind you that no victories have been achieved in the world, whether spiritual, moral, political, or scientific, without adverse circumstances. Surely science encountered difficulties in ascending its height. But these difficulties did not prove insurmountable barriers to its ultimate triumphs. Great were Alexander's difficulties, but he conquered still; the British arms more than once suffered defeat, but yet exulted in final conquest. When the ancient Israelites were restored from their Chaldean exile, and the Temple re-built, the aspects of the political world were changed. The unity of the Roman empire, and the circulation of the gospel throughout the civilised world, were not secured without the subjugation of many fair and populous provinces. The northern invasion, and the breaking up of the Roman empire, were unquestionably means designed by God to bring the uncivilised under the influence of the gospel. This is doubt-

less a very important period in the history of this Colony, but if men realize their privileges and individual dignity there will be no room for fear, but every reason to expect a bright future. In the records of history we find many periods when the world's best interests seem to have been suspended on a single conflict. Instance that period when on a single blow between Greece and Persia hinged the important question as to whether freedom or slavery should be the future inheritance of mankind. A similar period was that when the victory of Constantine determined the important question as to whether Paganism or Christianity should hold the throne of the Roman Empire. There are no obstacles in the way of a better social and a higher moral improvement of the race which cannot be overcome by energy, perseverance, and courage; but let us never forget that the chief ground of hope for the elevation of the people is to be found in the noble, sublime, and elevating principles of Christianity. In the gospel of Christ we see a boundless prospect of peace, joy, and happiness stretching before us, bright with the light of God's vast and glorious designs and the ample plans of His providence. The fourth resolution regards the present occasion as a fitting one to move for a better and higher development of the industrial spirit of the race. In order to this higher development of the industrial spirit of the race, the end, the object, and the dignity of labour must be realized. The strange illusion that labour degrades must be dispelled. The future prosperity of this Colony hinges on the development of the industrial spirit. Indeed, it is the foundation on which the hope of all classes must rest, on which the future weal or woe of the Colony greatly depends. The high destiny of this Colony is involved in it. With unwavering confidence in the promises and power of Almighty God, let us determine to do all in our power for the intellectual, moral, social, and religious elevation of the race. We have much to encourage us. The great and good men who struggled to secure emancipation to the West Indian slaves have passed away, but they are near us as a great cloud of witnesses. Had the Grecian soldier a loftier character to sustain after the brave men in whose steps he followed? Then what a character have we to sustain since such worthy men as those to whom we have referred trod this earth. Do we desire to know the secret of their success? Ask the question, and while they point to Him at whose feet they cast their crowns as the efficient cause, they will tell us that instrumentally their

success was due to the singleness of their aim, the unity of their purpose, and the sublime devotion of their lives.

“ Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
Is our destined end or way ;
But to act, that each to-morrow
Finds us farther than to-day.”

Sermon preached at All Saints' Parish Church, on Emancipation Jubilee Day, August 1st, 1888, by the Rev. Walter Farrar, B.A., Keble College, Oxford, Incumbent of Skeldon, Berbice.

“ The Truth shall make you free.”—ST. JOHN viii. 32.

My friends, if you feel as I feel, that there is something a little anomalous in my preaching to you to-day, instead of being seated among you, listening to the far weightier words of some great thinker, like our venerable Archdeacon, it is something after all that I have been able to find you a good text. For, if you think for a moment, you will see that the text I have chosen exactly “hits off” the reason of our meeting together in this church to-day. For I would speak to you to-day on two subjects, or rather, as I shall hope to show you, two aspects of the same subject: *Freedom and Truth*.

First, I would speak to you about *Freedom*. But before I begin, let me, as it were, “clear the ground” by reminding you not only why *you* are here,—you to whom the thought of freedom comes more directly home,—but *also* why *I* am here ; and why we who differ from you in certain external aspects, and who have no emancipation to look back upon, have thought it right to join our praises with yours, and to join with you in humble thanksgiving before the Throne of God.

We are here, my friends, because it is as much our freedom day as yours. We are here to thank God for the deliverance which He has vouchsafed to *us* from a slavery as great as that which bound *your* forefathers. We are here to thank God that the stain on our fair name as civilised men and women—that stain that lay upon us so long as we dared to defy the very law of nature and hold our brother captive—has been wiped away. Yes, my friends, it is quite as much *our* freedom day

as yours. "This is the day which the Lord hath made : let us rejoice and be glad in it." Since, then, we have started with this common ground of rejoicing, let us pass on to our first thought.

Now the first thought, my friends, for us to-day is *Freedom*: and what a thought it is! I suppose that all the poets and all the wise men that have ever lived could not have made a nobler, more inspiring word than that. *Libertas, Eleutheria, Liberté*: Liberty!—that has been the cry all through the world's great history down the ever-fleeting ages, the cry of advancing civilisation, the "central thought," as it were, of the mind of God working among men, the cry of struggling humanity groping blindly towards the glimmer of advancing dawn; a *universal* instinct, that, even as I speak the word, thrills your blood and mine in one true bond of manhood and brotherhood.

Liberty! freedom! that was the keynote of the angel choirs years ago, when it seemed good to God to set us free. We have said all when we have said that—*you are free*. Let us be glad and give thanks to God for His great gift of liberty.

It is the fashion of this Colony to think, or at any rate to *speak*, of this emancipation of ours as if it were a mistake, something to be apologized for, to be half ashamed of.

My friends, if men come to you and ask you to believe that your freedom is a mistake, and that you were better off as slaves, *tell them they lie*. *Tell them they lie*, first, in offending against God's law, which proclaims from page to page the good tidings of liberty and good-will to men; secondly, in offending against one of the primary instincts of humanity, which, in the hearts of all true men, recoils from the thought of treating our fellow-men like the beasts that perish. *Tell them they lie*. Their little souls are close bound in the bands of a slavery great indeed,—their little souls that dare not look outside the narrow casement of their own abode, or gaze upon the glory of God's smile which touches land and sea with love and peace, but, looking *inward*, see only the reflection of their own meanness and littleness.

Put away the thought, if it has ever come to you, that God's freedom can be anything but *good*. Believe me, there is a horizon beyond the limited horizon of our sight; a heaven wider and deeper than the heaven we see: the mind of God is greater than the mind of man; and in His sight what seems to us a failure, or, at best, hardly achieved success, may be but the *beginning* of the gradual working out of that glorious *end*

which, in His own good time, He has destined for us. His thoughts are not our thoughts, nor His ways our ways. Man, in the conceit of his shortsightedness, is apt to grumble if all things are not brought within the range of *his* perspective. He must see,—this *Ephēmeros*, as old Aristophanes called him with his genial laugh,—he must see the beginning and the end, the why and the wherefore of all things. Coming first in the series of created things, there must be no working in the lower series which he cannot and ought not to understand. There is to be no judgment greater than his own.

And so, when this “creature of a day,” “whose breath is in his nostrils,” looks only upon God’s world, all things seem to him a mistake and a failure. He would plan out the course of God’s highest heaven, or sketch the outline of His earth beneath; and he stands upon a dunghill to do it. And so when the “little cloud” arises “like a man’s hand,” he fails to see it: that little cloud that came to the weary prophet on the top of Carmel, after long watchings over the wide sea, that came to him at last as he waited in that posture which is the only true posture for those who wait and watch for God—the posture of humility and prayer—*upon his knees*. Believe me, there is need of caution in passing judgment on God’s work for men. There *must* be need of caution for man, with his imperfect knowledge even of the Nature which God has set before his eyes, as great a need now as in the old days, when through the long years men looked for the Messiah and found Him not, and for the freedom of men’s souls and saw it not, so that God’s people seemed almost forsaken, and the voice of God was almost lost to human hearing. But when at last, after centuries of preparation, and failure, and weary waiting, God’s angel came to the Blessed Virgin, and told her of the coming Mystery of Love, was not the wisdom and goodness of God vindicated then?

Thousands of years of waiting and failure, and *then the—Hail, thou that art highly favoured*. Thousands of years of waiting, and then at last *the Child Jesus*. Nay, not even then did God’s method of working cease. Thirty long years of waiting, before Jesus, “the Carpenter,” went forth to preach, and heal, and teach.

Three bitter lingering years of pain and failure, and then—Success? glory? triumph?—Nay, verily!—but the Son of God crucified by men upon the cross; and behold the air is rent with the cry of terrible and *intense* Humanity: “My God,

My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me!" A failure patent to all the world, at which the earth itself seemed to quake in agony, and darkness spread her garment in despair. A failure! yes, my friends, the *Divinest* failure in all the history of the world, before which wise men bare their heads, and learn at last to say: *We do not know.*

This, then, is our answer to those who ask us to believe that emancipation is a cause of sorrow rather than of rejoicing, who would ask us to go back to the slavery of body and soul which marked our history. This is our answer: "*We are not careful to answer thee in this matter.*" If you speak to us merely as men, without thought of God, then you insult our civilisation: *We are not careful to answer you.* If you speak to us as Christians, then every Christian feeling which has the stamp of *manliness* on it, without which Christianity is a *sham*, is against you. You insult *our Christianity, our manhood.* We are not careful to answer you.

That is an answer just and true enough. And yet, if we are wise men, we will not stop there. Our greatest modern poet has said, "*The lie that is half the truth is ever the blackest of lies.*" Let us, like wise men, take the sting out of *this* lie, by holding it up to the light, and examining it, and removing what is false, and leaving what is *true*. Let us set about finding some test which will show us what proportion of truth and falsehood there is in this oft-repeated assertion.

Now the test is ready to our hand, in the text: "*The truth shall make you free.*" The test of the reality of our freedom therefore must be *Truth*, what in the original is called *aletheia*, that is to say, *Reality*, as opposed to what is unreal, untrue,—a *Sham*, in short, to use a common phrase.

The truth! why, it is as great and noble a word as liberty. Is it true? Is it real? That is the first question we ask ourselves when we think of anything. Has it got the right stamp on it, or the right *ring* about it? Is it real? Is it true? Yes, that is, after all, the great *touchstone* of life. Let us apply it to the present case, and see how it acts. Has our freedom the element of truth, of reality, in it, which goes to make it *freedom* in the right sense of the word? My friends, I shall ask you to answer that question for yourselves. It is good for you, even on this day of rejoicing, to examine your freedom and see if it is *real*, so that if it fall short at all of *reality*, we may try to make it real and true.

For what is this true freedom of which we hear so much?

What, for instance, do we mean when we say that a man has a "free will"? Ninety-nine people out of a hundred would answer that a person possessed of a free will is a person capable and able to do exactly what he or she may *choose* to do—good, bad, or indifferent. But this is just where ninety-nine people out of a hundred are wrong. The true 'free' will is quite a different thing to that. It is—to put the matter shortly—"the condition of the will in which it is able to carry out *what reason tells it to be best.*" That is what philosophy and theology alike tell us about it. He alone is free whose will is in perfect *subjection* to the will of God: that God, as the Prayer-Book has it in an old Latin Collect—that God *cui servire regnare est*, whose *service* is perfect freedom, or, more literally, "*Whom to serve as slaves, is to reign as kings.*" Here, then, is one of the true paradoxes of Christianity: *The most perfect freedom is the most perfect slavery*,—the most perfect submission to the will which is greater than our own. So that we have thrown off our chains, which man forged for us, only to put on the fetters with which God would bind us fast. *The truest freedom is the greatest slavery.* Let us, even in the midst of our rejoicing to-day, examine our freedom by the light of truth.

Is it true liberty, this liberty of ours; and if it be not true, or only partially true, where does it fail?

My friends, wise men who have watched the workings of our national life tell us that, in the sense I have already described, our freedom falls short of *truth*.

I have tried to show you what reasons for hope there are in judging even our failures, but the fact remains: the last stage of our social and political development is not yet reached. *We have not yet become the slaves of God.* We are not truly free.

Look at the history and the results of these past years.

I see, as I look back upon the times past, a people gradually rising out of ignorance into light, a people quick to learn and apt to teach, a people into whose souls God has poured no small portion of the gifts that go so far to show us how to know Him; a happy-hearted people, with a mind to laugh and sing rather than to weep and mourn,—ready, too, to join in God's praises and worship in His holy place.

• I wish that I could stop here, and leave the picture, but, as I look back, alas! the picture changes, for I see a people whose noblest impulses are marred by ugly sin,—a people more

ready to cry "Lord ! Lord !" than to *do* the will of God,—a people restless of restraint, as men who have drunk too deeply of the wine of liberty, and are *drunk* instead of cheered.

Yes, the development is not over yet, the last stage seems hardly to have begun. As a nation, we stand still before "An altar of an unknown God." *I perceive that in all things we are too superstitious.*

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. When ye come to appear before Me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread My courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto Me; the new-moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with: it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new-moons and your appointed feasts My soul hateth: they are a trouble unto Me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide Mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood."

That was the prophet's message to the Jewish nation at one of the greatest moments of national reform. And the message and the remedy are quite as much for us to-day as for the Jews of long ago.

Wash you, make you clean: put away the evil of your doings from before Mine eyes. Cease to do evil,—that is the *negative* stage which as a freed race we have reached to-day,—Cease to do evil, and, passing on to the *positive* stage of reform, which we have, alas! not yet attained to, *learn to do well.*

On this day of general rejoicing it would ill become me to dwell at greater length on the dark side of the picture of our social life. It would ill become me, all the same, to omit it altogether. But over against this sad thought of success not yet attained to, let us place two thoughts worthy of this day of Jubilee.

The first thought is the thought of the *Fatherhood* of God, that tender, far-seeing Fatherhood, which works out its own ends in its own times, and suffers men and nations to fall, that they may rise again to a better and a nobler life; and to *die*,

"That they may rise on stepping-stones
Of their dead selves to higher things:"

(TENNYSON, *In Memoriam*)

that Fatherhood of God which some day will *perfect* this work of freedom which has only just begun, and give to it the truth and reality which now it seems to lack.

And the second thought is the thought of the *Brotherhood* of men, that brotherhood that has sent us here to rejoice together; that bids men, looking to the Saviour crucified, *live no longer unto themselves*; that makes each member of a family, and each family in a nation, directly responsible for the growth or decrease of that nation's or family's existence.

These two thoughts together, the Fatherhood and the Brotherhood, give us the true meaning of this service in God's house to-day.

Let there be at least no lack of reality in our *praise* and *thanksgiving*.

Yes, my friends, the picture is not so gloomy after all. Only hold it up to God's light, and let God's sun shine upon it, and the dark places are touched with brightness, and the picture is transformed. It is only a matter of perspective after all!

Those of us whom God has sent to preach to you often forget that, after all, the work is not theirs but God's.

"At times"—I am quoting the words of one whom it is an honour and a pleasure for me to quote—"at times the difficulties in connection with our mission are more than enough to daunt the stoutest heart and the most living faith. But God is greater than our hearts and wider than our thoughts, and if we are able to believe in Him at all, we must also believe that truth is great, and that it will prove in the end to be *universal, complete, eternal*."

Universal, complete, eternal!—It is the old story, you see.

"Woe is me!" says the prophet, "for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts."

But to us who out of the fulness of our feeling of insufficiency pray that humble prophet's prayer, there comes from God Himself the old, old song of hope and joy: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts: *the whole earth* is full of His glory."

• It is so human to look back. But God's city is *before* us, and God's heaven is *above* us—*universal, complete, eternal*...

Eternal, for the kingdom of God and the city of God of which we are fellow-citizens is *for ever and ever*.

Complete, for this is the end and aim of all religion: *that we may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God* (Col. iv. 12).

And *Universal*, for it is written by the Spirit of Him who stretched forth both His arms upon the cross, to gather all men unto Him, that in the shadow of that cross there is henceforth a wiping away of all distinctions of race, and class, and colour: "Neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all."

(γ) SPECIMENS OF SONGS.

Composed and set to music by natives, and sung at the Commemorative Concert, held in the Philharmonic Hall, Georgetown, on the evening of the Emancipation Jubilee day.

I.

EMANCIPATION CHORUS.

Forward! sons of Africa:
 March in Progress' train!
 Now in far America
 Yoked no more in chain.
 "Forward!" let your watchword be
 Forward, brethren! you are free;
 Forward! 'tis your Jubilee;
 Rise and wisdom gain!
 CHORUS:—Forward! sons of Africa;
 Though far o'er the sea;
 Yet in far America
 Chant your Jubilee.

Forward! freeborn, onward move!
 Brethren of mankind!
 Forward, onward, strive to improve,
 Elevate your mind.

Be not deaf to Progress' call :
Forward, brethren ! march on, all !
You can rise, both great and small,
None should flag behind.

Forward, onward, upward rise !
Grasp a nobler fate :
Cultivate the gift that lies
Dormant and innate !
You no more in serfdom kept :
Fifty summers have not slept,
Have not mourned and have not wept
'Neath the tyrants' weight.

Forward ! try to imitate
Others who have striven
Hard to gain a nobler state,
Which at last is given.
Join the Ethiopic hand
In one vast, colossal band—
In one unity, so grand,
As that in heaven.

T. R. F. ELLIOTT.

II.

THE GOLDEN MILESTONE GAINED.

Down thro' a rugged, thorny way,
For fifty years the hist'ry runs ;
The fathers bore the grief that day,
On this the joy is with their sons.
And most because we have not known,
In bitter fact, the toil-wrung brow,
But find the mem'ry yet our own,
We keep its odour sacred now.
For never years, however full
Of promise, beckoning far away,
Can dim in fact of Faith and Act,
The golden milestone gained to-day.

It gleams a pure and priceless block,
 And, on its polished surface, see
 Experience, warning, guidance writ
 In words that reach the far To-be.
 It points to roads as yet untrod,
 Into whose pathway somewhat guides,
 That speaks the mission help from God,
 And strength and fortitude provides.
 For who in heart looks well ahead
 With mental vision outward strained,
 Would fail to make a moral wake
 Around the milestone we have gained.

'Then, since 'tis so, with stedfast eyes,
 In solid ranks march boldly on,
 Till far behind this milestone lies,
 And others, brighter yet, are won.
 Or midnight gloom or noonday heat,
 The moral is : Keep marching still !
 At last shall stand the weary feet
 In triumph on Success' high hill.
 And courage can be gathered now,
 And high resolves alike attained,
 If we but hold the moral told
 Upon the milestone we have gained.

LEO.

III.

SONG.

Rise, happy sons of Afric in the West,
 Praise ye the Lord in songs of joyous strain,
 Let every voice with might and main attest
 The glorious Jubilee of Freedom's reign.
 Full fifty years have fled away and gone,
 And sceneries much changed through life's decay,
 Since liberty was for our fathers won,
 And servile night did yield to gladsome day.

Rise ye, and shout ! again, and yet again !
 We do not now in slavish shackles pine,
 Let loud hosannas be the grand refrain,
 Ascribing all to Majesty Divine.

O Afric, rise ! your sun is not yet high,
Make onward march, bequit you all like men,
So with the mightiest of the earth you'll vie
Ere close the next twice twenty years and ten.

S. E. WILLS.

IV.

THANKSGIVING HYMN.

God of Mercy and of Love,
Hear us from Thy Throne above ;
Graciously accept the praise
Which this day to Thee we raise ;
Through oppression borne of yore,
Through soul-darkness known no more,
Thy Almighty arm stretch'd forth,
Led us on to freedom's worth.

Glory, thanks, and praise to Thee,
Ever-blessed Trinity.

Afric's soil, our Fatherland,
Made by Thy Almighty hand,
Sunk to sin and crime and woe,
Lost the due to Thee we owe ;
Thou our fathers ledst from thence
To this land in bondage, whence
We'll the covenant renew,
Journey heavenwards, pure and true.

Glory, thanks, etc.

Thou art holy, Thou art just,
In Thee is our perfect trust ;
Now in this our Freedom's worth,
Keep us still to laud Thy truth ;
Freed from bondage under men,
Guard us too from bands of sin,
Make our grateful hearts to bloom
With Thy praise in sweet perfume.

Glory, thanks, etc.

S. E. BLADES.

V.

HE IS A CHRISTIAN.

The mystic light has dawn'd upon his sight !
 He sees and he believes !
 Rejoice ! with one acclaiming voice !
 Strike, seraphs ! strike your harps,
 And thro' the sky swell the full
 Tide of rapt'rous melody.

OTWAY.

VI.

THANKSGIVING.

God, Creator, Father dear !
 Bend us low Thy gracious ear ;
 From Thy heav'nly home above,
 List in mercy and in love
 To this feeble psalm of praise
 We, now freeborn, meekly raise
 Joyfully, great God, to Thee,
 In this year of Jubilee !

God, Redeemer, Brother kind,
 Holy, lowly, meek in mind ;
 Who on Calvary suffered death,
 So to gain us ceaseless breath,
 Hear from heav'n, Thy high abode,
 This thanksgiving prayer and ode
 Which we freeborn chant to Thee
 In this year of Jubilee !

God, our Comforter and Friend,
 Be with us till time shall end ;
 Grant us grace, and strong faith give,
 So that here on earth we live,
 Perfect, upright, good and true,
 While our heav'nly course pursue ;
 Hear our prayer we pour to Thee
 In this year of Jubilee !

Now, upraise your voices all !
On your knees each freeborn fall,
Praise Jehovah, King and God,
Bow submissive to His rod,
And His great bless'd name adore
Henceforth and for evermore !
Praise Him, O ye people free,
On this Freedom's Jubilee !

T. R. F. ELLIOTT.

VII.

JUBILEE OF EMANCIPATION.

Like tidal waves, let all freeborn
Rush forth on first of August morn,
 To sing sweet liberty ;
Like surging waves, let anthems float,
And loud the peal from every throat
 Of happy Jubilee !

Arise ! and pour your psalm of praise
To Him who did your status raise
 From hopeless misery ;
Let grateful hearts unite to laud
This loving God, and loud applaud
 Sweet Freedom's Jubilee.

Let Afric's sons of every shade,
Of every hue and every grade,
 With noble hearts and free,
Come forth and aid this grand event,
And have two jolly days well spent
 On Freedom's Jubilee.

Come forth, ye sons of Afric's blood,
And gather like the mighty flood
 Of ever-raging sea ;
Unite in one gigantic band,
And shout the strain from land to land
 Of Freedom's Jubilee.

Awake, O sons of Africa !
 No more in dark America
 A thing of misery ;
 Full fifty years have gone their round,
 And you to-day, now free, are bound
 To mark this Jubilee.

Then, brethren, let us all unite
 And join this cause with heart and might,
 In love and peace agree ;
 For when our time on earth we end,
 In yonder world we'll live to spend
 An endless Jubilee.

T. R. F. ELLIOTT.

VIII.

REJOICE ! 'TIS FREEDOM'S JUBILEE.

Rejoice ! rejoice ! rejoice !
 All hearts of true-born free !
 Shout forth in grateful melody—
 " Rejoice ! rejoice ! rejoice !
 'Tis Freedom's Jubilee !"
 No more the tyrant's yoke to bear,
 No more his cruel anger fear,
 No more this flesh with lashes tear,
 No more the mark of woe we wear ;
 But free are we to-day,
 Hence all should chant this lay,
 In strains of sweetest harmony—
 " Rejoice ! rejoice ! rejoice !
 'Tis Freedom's Jubilee !"

Rejoice ! rejoice ! rejoice !
 All hearts of true-born free !
 In tuneful voices join this glee—
 " Rejoice ! rejoice ! rejoice !
 'Tis Freedom's Jubilee !"
 Bless God that we have not been born
 Poor wretched slaves, in bond forlorn ;

Our souls with ignorance adorn,
By toil and pain and grief outworn ;
 No, free we are to-day,
 Hence all should chant this lay,
In strains of sweetest harmony—
 “ Rejoice ! rejoice ! rejoice !
 ’Tis Freedom’s Jubilee ! ”

Rejoice ! rejoice ! rejoice !
All hearts of true-born free !
Sing forth this theme quite merrily—
 “ Rejoice ! rejoice ! rejoice !
 ’Tis Freedom’s Jubilee ! ”
Full fifty years have passed away
Since Slavery lost its ruling sway,
And we, this first of August day,
Our psalm of thanks to God do pay ;
 For free we are to-day,
 Hence all should chant this lay,
In strains of sweetest harmony—
 “ Rejoice ! rejoice ! rejoice !
 ’Tis Freedom’s Jubilee ! ”

T. R. F. ELLIOTT.

Not being a poet nor a musician, I am utterly unable to express my own opinion in regard to the “People’s Concert” and the “People’s Choir ;” but competent critics had nothing but praise of the way in which the whole entertainment was given by a large choir, numbering 150, male and female, under the conductorship of Mr. Sandiford Blades. One peculiar feature of the concert was, that nothing but of local composition was sung ; and all the songs had reference to the Jubilee of Emancipation. The music was all by native composers. The finest executed solo of the evening was undoubtedly sung by Mr. G. W. Rockliffe, the title of which was, “When Israel out of Bondage came,” taken from the Jubilee ode of his own composition. This was greeted with thunderous and well-merited applause. The *Royal Gazette* has very wisely suggested the permanency of this choir, and the suggestion is worth entertaining, as a large majority of the natives possess

natural musical talents. The grand concert of vocal and instrumental music, given in the Philharmonic Hall, was throughout rendered in a style reflecting great credit on the promoters of this feature of the celebration.

One of the principal features in connection with the celebration of the Jubilee, and a feature which must have held a prominent position in proceedings of that description, was the entertainment of those persons who had been born in the days when the institution of slavery was a living reality, at substantial repasts. To render the old people as jubilant as possible at such an eventful epoch in their existence, by providing them with substantial dinners, in keeping with the other items on the programme, and worthy of the event that was being celebrated, the Jubilee Committee thought it proper to expend upon that portion of the day's rejoicings a considerable amount of money, which, judging from the character of the viands provided, could hardly have been better expended. With a view to the convenience of the old folk, many of whom could only hobble about with assistance, and to afford an opportunity of having each individual guest properly attended to, the city was divided into three districts, of which St. George's Schoolroom, Smith Church Schoolroom, and Providence Schoolroom were the centres, and each of which, it was calculated, would provide accommodation for 100 of those remnants of the days of slavery. The guests, whose ages ranged between 55 and 103, were all admitted by ticket to the dinners, which were announced to begin at 2.30 P.M.

The Industrial or People's Exhibition, which was got up hurriedly, and carried out within a space of six weeks, was a marked success, almost, if not, unrivalled in the history of the Colony, and was held in the Assembly Rooms. The vestibule and staircases and the corridors of the great hall were very tastefully decorated with ornamental plants in pots, interspersed with a few flowers, which had a cool and really charming effect; and, as the utmost possible had been done with the exhibits, in the way of artistic and effective arrangement, the whole formed a really very pretty, if not particularly

imposing, show. This was formally opened by His Excellency Lord Gormanston, at 1 o'clock on Wednesday.

Lady Gormanston and Mr. Rawlinson accompanied his Lordship, and as the carriage drove up a detachment of soldiers from the garrison gave the royal salute. By the time of their arrival there was a large number of well-known ladies and gentlemen assembled in the Exhibition, amongst whom were many of the principal public officers and heads of departments. Lady Gormanston was led into the hall by Mr. H. D. Belgrave, and conducted to a seat on the dais, on which, also, were accommodated His Excellency, Bishop Butler, and the Rev. Father Scoles. A little delay occurred before the proceedings commenced, owing to the noise made by a passing band. That over, Mr. Belgrave read the following address :—

TO the QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please your Majesty,—

We, your Majesty's loyal subjects in British Guyana, who are descendants of the African race, feel it our duty humbly to approach your Majesty in this year of grace Eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, being the fiftieth anniversary of the practical and entire abolition of Negro Slavery in the British Colonies.

We must first of all give thanks to Almighty God that in the year Eighteen hundred and thirty-four, the cause of liberty did so triumph with the British Parliament, as that the Negro Emancipation Bill, so nobly initiated by the great Wilberforce and his colleagues, became law, and that thus thousands of our forefathers were relieved from under the dreadful bondage of slavery.

Next, we have to thank your Majesty for the warm interest which your Majesty deigned, on your Majesty's accession, to take in the condition of the unfortunate slaves, and we rejoice with your Majesty that the much-desired entire abolition of slavery in the British Colonies became an accomplished fact in the very year following that in which your Majesty was called to the throne.

We beg leave in this Jubilee year of Negro Emancipation,

which we consider a notable epoch in British history, and which has followed so close upon the Jubilee of your Majesty's glorious reign, to join with your Majesty in giving thanks to God for the peaceful and prosperous period which has succeeded the great Act of Emancipation, and we pray that peace and prosperity may long continue in the British Empire.

And we feel certain that your Majesty must have a deep regard for the descendants of those African people who were brought into your Majesty's dominions by force, and that this regard will move your Majesty so to order as that whatever can be done for the moral, mental, and social improvement of their children shall be done in your Majesty's Colonies, so that a future time shall find the condition of the British African a credit to Great Britain; and in expectation of the accomplishment of this, we rest a hopeful and loyal people.

Lastly, we pray that your Majesty may long enjoy sound health and a peaceful reign; that when it shall please the great Giver of Life to call your Majesty to a more glorious crown, your Majesty's most noble son, our honoured Prince of Wales, may continue to take that interest in us and hold that protecting hand over us, which has been characteristic of your Majesty as Queen of Great and Greater Britain, and that the name and influence of the Empire may ever continue to extend over the habitable world.

We are,

Your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects.

To His Excellency Governor the VISCOUNT GORMANSTON,
K.C.M.G., etc., etc., etc.

Your Excellency,—

Before asking your Excellency to perform the duty that you have been pleased so readily to undertake, we have been commissioned by the Committee appointed to carry into effect the General Celebration of the Jubilee of Emancipation, to thank you most heartily for the kindness and consideration which your Excellency has evinced towards the movement.

We owe to your Excellency a greater acknowledgment than mere thanks, for the ready and courteous manner in which your Excellency acceded to the wishes of the people. We feel that one of the greatest elements of a complete

success would have been wanting had this day not been set apart as a public holiday; and we are convinced that a great impetus was thereby given to the movement, which has culminated in to-day's success.

Our pleasure to-day is intensified by the thought that your Excellency's first public performance of a duty outside what may be strictly termed your official duties, should be in connection with a movement originated by the people.

Your Excellency has not been in the Colony any great length of time, but have been here sufficiently long to convince the inhabitants of the Colony that it is your Excellency's desire to promote the moral and social well-being of the community.

Your Excellency has with justice remarked that Jubilees are not of frequent occurrence in a man's lifetime, and the Jubilee that we celebrate to-day—the Jubilee of Freedom—is one that we venture to assert is of great importance in every respect; and we believe that, as possessing every instinct of an Englishman, your Excellency's heart will be in unison with ours at the recollection that fifty years ago the stain of slavery was removed from the escutcheon of Great Britain; and that the blessings of freedom were restored to those who had been deprived of their pristine rights by the inhuman customs which degraded men of flesh and blood to the level of beasts of burden.

We ask your Excellency to forward to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen the accompanying Address in token of our loyalty and allegiance.

In conclusion, we venture to express the hope that your Excellency's stay in the Colony may be pleasant to yourself and beneficial to its inhabitants, and that long life, continued health, and every prosperity may be shared by yourself, your amiable partner the Viscountess Gormanston, and your family.

On behalf of the Committee of the Jubilee of Emancipation.

His Excellency then read, and handed to Mr. H. D. Belgrave, the following reply to the Address :—

Gentlemen,—

I thank you for the Address you have been pleased to present to me, and still more for the kind and generous

sentiments you have expressed towards me personally. It is a source of great satisfaction to me to know that you consider that I desire to promote the moral and social well-being of the community. Such, no doubt, is my wish; and, with the help of the Almighty, I will, as far as lies in my power, strive to carry it out. The Jubilee we celebrate to-day commemorates—and it deserves to be so commemorated—a very great event, one marking a special era in history, specially in that of England and her Colonies. Fifty years ago England gave the bright example to the rest of the world, an example which has since been followed by other nations at varied intervals, the last to do so being the neighbouring empire of Brazil; so that at this moment the curse of slavery has been removed from all Christendom, and the only nations now practising it are Muhammedan and Pagan ones. I shall have much pleasure in forwarding your dutiful and loyal Address to Her Majesty the Queen. On the part of Lady Gormanston and my children, I beg to tender to you their sincere thanks for the kind wishes you have expressed regarding them.

Mr. G. A. Forshaw, Ex-Mayor of Georgetown, then addressed His Excellency as follows:—

I desire, on behalf of the Committee of the Industrial Exhibition, to thank your Excellency for your presence here, and not only on behalf of the Industrial Exhibition Committee, but I may say on behalf of all those who have taken an interest in this movement. I also have to thank Lady Gormanston for gracing the opening of this Exhibition with her presence likewise. I think that your Excellency's presence here to-day will have the effect of strengthening that love of loyalty which one feels towards the British Crown. As the representative of Her Majesty in this Colony, any participation that your Excellency takes in movements of that kind must strengthen that feeling of deep respect which every one of the British nation willingly acknowledges in relation to Her Majesty. It is not my intention nor purpose to say anything with regard to the question of emancipation. I think enough has been said, enough has been written on the subject, and my duty as chairman of the Committee is very limited. Nevertheless, I may be permitted, without trespassing upon ground on which I have no right to enter, to say one or two words. Some have

said that this movement for the celebration of the Jubilee, with regard to one class of the people, has created a feeling of uncharitableness, a feeling of envy, hatred, and malice towards their whiter brethren. That, I desire to say, is not the case. I think those who have taken a prime part in the movement have done so without any such feeling whatever. They did so as men possessing the liberty which every one of the British nation possesses. They feel they can meet their fairer brethren upon the same platform. What they look to is really the intellectual capacity of the man rather than the colour of his skin. If there be one characteristic of the English people better than another, it is the love of intellectual capacity, wherever they find it. Whatever may be the circumstances of the individual, racial or otherwise, he finds the hand of fellowship held out to him whenever he meets an Englishman, if he possesses that amount of intelligence, that intellectual capacity, which fits him for the society of others. Your Excellency, the time that has elapsed between the announcement of this Exhibition and to-day has been very short, and I think that will account in a very great measure for the smallness of the exhibits! but I think, when your Excellency has had an opportunity of seeing the exhibits, you will come to the conclusion that the people have endeavoured to do their duty. Some of the exhibits show the existence of very great talent and great inventive genius in the exhibitors, and I for myself believe that this Exhibition will have a very marked influence upon the progress of the particular race more especially celebrating this Jubilee. It will be an incentive to do more; it will teach them that there is dignity in labour. I earnestly hope that it will stimulate future progress, and that the remembrance of the various proceedings and transactions will be handed down to posterity as marking the progress the race has made since emancipation. I shall not detain your Excellency any longer. I have now to ask your Excellency to be pleased to declare the Exhibition open.

At 5 P.M. there was a procession of the different Friendly Societies.

The procession was to have started at 4.30 from the Parade Ground, but it was half an hour after this time before the first of the Societies issued from the field. An immense crowd of sightseers congregated both in the ground and in the road

'outside, and in all the houses along the route of the march numbers of people had taken up every position of vantage where a view might be had of the procession. Societies congregated in a quadrangle round the field, with their flags flying and the bands playing lively music all the while. The route taken was from the Parade Ground, through the yard of Government House, up to the eastern side of Main Street as far as the bridge, and then along the western side past the Assembly Rooms into Robb Street, thence into King Street through the oval of the Cathedral, and under the triumphal arch at the junction of Carmichael and Middle Streets, and back to the Parade Ground for dismissal. The militia band marched at the head of the procession, and there were two other bands present—the foundry band and drum and fife band. The mounted marshals, in foresters' costume, were Mr. T. W. Craig, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Waterman, and Mr. Sweetnam. On the triumphal car, which bore representatives from the different Societies, were the mottoes, "Descendants of bound and free combine to celebrate their Jubilee," and "United Progress."

Lord and Lady Gormanston, children, and Mr. Rawlinson, private secretary, were seated on chairs on the grass plot of ground before the Government House, and as the first of the procession entered and passed up the road, the party stood up; and as the heads of the Societies raised their hats to His Excellency, he in turn acknowledged the salute. The other members of the Societies passed bareheaded as a rule. There were few hitches or gaps in the procession at this point; the most serious one being the jamming of a sort of triumphal car at the gate leading to the ground, and in passing underneath the gallery of the house the fretwork and flags on the top of the car would not admit its free passage, so that the latter had to be taken down, and the former broken off short. The procession must certainly have been seen here at its best; the fine surroundings of the scene adding to the brilliancy of the banners and dresses of those taking part in the proceedings. Everything passed off orderly; the

people behaving in the grounds with the greatest possible decorum, and no damage to trees and plants of any kind was done.

• The order of the procession was as follows :—

Grand United Order of Oddfellows, carrying the Good Samaritan banner, with ornamental shovels, picks, etc.

British Order of Ancient Free Gardeners, with devices and gardeners' implements.

Loyal Order of Shepherds, their emblems being a lamb and decorated bannerets, and followed by a drum and fife band.

Hand of Justice Lodge, with banner.

The Union Friendly Society, the females in white dresses with blue regalia, the men carrying a banner and national flags.

Smith's Church Sunday School Band of Hope, females, males, and children.

Saint George's Burial Society, with banner.

The British Guyana Reform Tobits Society, band and flags.

St. Barnabas' Benevolent Society, the members carrying ornamental spears.

Independent Order of Oddfellows, London Unity.

Myrtle Female Lodge.

Grand Triumphal Car, escorted by mounted marshals.

The Foundry Band.

Georgetown Lily Lodge, with drum and fife band.

Ancient Order of Foresters, Georgetown Diamond Lodge.

Carriage with Messrs. Belgrave, Elliott, Blades, and Rockliffe.

The procession, in which there were about 1400 members of Friendly Societies, proceeded slowly along the route indicated, followed by a great throng of people ; and as the last of the procession entered the ground, the crowd outside endeavoured to rush after them, but were repulsed by the police and several soldiers. The last-mentioned, on seeing the state of affairs, ran into the guard-room, and got out short sticks, whereupon those in front became very terror-stricken, and backed with such force and rapidity as to throw a large number of people backward into the trench. This involuntary immersion on the part of so many people was, it goes without saying, provocative of laughter of the heartiest and most boisterous nature

on the part of those who stood on "terry firmer," as a modern Mrs. Malaprop has it.

In the evening the illuminations were a feature which drew many hundreds of people from their homes. The great attraction was the triumphal arch in Carmichael Street, which after nightfall was brilliant with numberless lights hung on to the framework. After this the most conspicuous illuminations were at the rum-shops. The Portuguese in this manner testified their detestation of the slavery under which the negro race at one time laboured. The streets where these brilliant decorations abounded most were thickly peopled to a late hour of the night.

13. We feel we but express the general feeling, as regards the movement of this celebration, that the people are to be congratulated on the decorum observed from beginning to end. As was remarked by one of the preachers on the Emancipation Jubilee day, they were on trial; and it is bare justice to admit that they stood the ordeal well and honourably. All excitement in Georgetown, and indeed throughout the Colony, is now over; and what is to be the sequel of this Jubilee celebration? What will be the story told at the end of the next fifty years? I shall be gone to the better world by that time, and many more in the Colony who may peruse the pages of this book, but I want to impress upon my Creole friends and others the GREAT NECESSITY OF DECISION OF CHARACTER IN RELIGION AND BUSINESS. Inconsistency has ruined thousands. Do not decline from the ways of the Lord. By your constant, steady habits, industrious attention and application to your daily calling or work, and by your consistency of Christian character, show to those little-minded Solons who are content to keep the African descendants in a subordinate position—as if the curse of God rested on the family of Ham inevitably and in never-ending perpetuity, and as if such men were to be still considered necessarily inferior, though possessed of great moral worth—that you are men and women of equal calibre with themselves, that you have pluck as well as they have,

and that you are determined to push ahead. Let the Sabbath desecraters and immoral persons in high places, whose examples have hitherto demoralized the lower classes, be put to shame by your holy lives and conversations. If they set a bad example before you, you, as Christians, set a good and wholesome example before them. Never consent to do a mean act. "Act well your part—there all the honour lies." Remember slavery, as it existed in the Colony and elsewhere, has been in times past (though it had its good side as well as its bad side) a curse to both master and slave. Liberty or freedom you now enjoy, and, if rightly understood and used, will prove a blessing to all. Now suppose if it were possible that such a system be re-started or re-established in the Colony, what would be the result? "Could the circumstances," observed the late Rev. John Freeman, in a sermon preached in his own church, "of the Colony a half-century ago be now reproduced, it would cause a perfect upset in all the duties and business of life. The schools would be closed. The shops would not be required, for each master would have to feed his own slaves. The dry goods stores in Georgetown would find 'their occupation gone,' for the slaves would have no money to purchase 'grandeur,' and would not be permitted to wear it, even if they had the money to procure it. The office of Commissary would be almost useless, and the magistrate would have scarcely anything to do, for the master would punish his slaves for wrongdoing, and also settle in some way or other quarrels among his slaves. The great majority of the ordinances passed since 'Freedom' would have to be repealed, and the system of taxation entirely remodelled. All this, and more, before we could replace the state of things in 1830. Ever since 1838 the object of the British Government, of successive Governors, . . . and of the members of the Court of Policy, has been to build up this country on the basis of liberty, and . . . they have been successful. The advance upward has been remarkable, especially when the difficulties which had to be encountered are remembered. But the work remaining to be done is exceedingly great. . . . The men by whose exertions liberty

was secured for every slave in the British dominions have all passed away, but the freedom they secured remains. . . . The slave . . . on 1st of August 1838 could not remain a slave even had he wished so to do. But . . . many of you are the willing slaves of Satan. Drunkenness, pride, immorality, falsehood, theft, Sabbath-breaking rule you, bind you; and the end of this slavery is death, eternal death." Rich and plentiful, indeed, are the blessings and privileges you now enjoy. Do not undervalue them. From the time that the Rev. John Wesley made the following entry in his Journal—"November 29, 1758. I rode to Wandsworth, and baptized two negroes belonging to Mr. Gilbert, a gentleman lately come from Antigua. . . ."—the Wesleyan Committee in London have taken a lively spiritual interest in the coloured race in the West Indies. Whatever has been achieved on behalf of the African race has been done by Christianity and by missionary churches (in certain places the Church of England, when ruled by evangelical clergymen of decidedly liberal minds). As the genius of the Wesleyan Church is in every way adapted to the people whom it designs to bless, it will long continue, or rather ought to continue, a Church much endeared to every descendant of Africa and to every man of mixed blood. The London Missionary and Baptist Missionary Churches, in like manner, ought to have a place in the memory of the descendants of the Africans who were once slaves in the West Indian Islands and in the Colony of British Guyana. To the honour of the Romish Church it may be said that she has always been the enemy of slavery and the upholder of freedom. And what is more noteworthy to us, as Dr. Blyden (himself an African) testifies, she has been foremost in advancing the negro's welfare in Africa. What the pioneers or missionaries sent out by these Societies experienced at the hands of the slave-holders, a little more than fifty years ago, is too well known, and need not therefore be recorded here.

14. In the interest of both the Creoles and my own countrymen, the East Indian Immigrants, I have written this Jubilee volume, and if in its pages I have stated anything that might

not be cherished by my friends, they can only blame me for my candour, and bear with the infirmities of old age now creeping upon me. I am not conscious of having overstated or exaggerated any fact or incident in this book. I wish all the Creole people in the Colony, amongst whom I dwell, success and prosperity. "It will be a revolution in West Indian society when every man can look upon his fellow with complacency, upon his equals and associates with cordiality, and upon those above him with a hearty and unrestrained respect for their worth, as free from mere selfishness, on the one hand, as from tyranny and despotism, on the other. O happy day ! dawn on our unfortunate West Indian Colonies. Here let the genius of Christ's religion shed its benevolence, in all its unselfishness, its sympathy, its tenderness, and in all its pity for those who have been so long neglected, despised, and oppressed, whatever their inexcusable faults may still be, and however some of them may even now, by their neglect of mental culture, provoke the contempt and excite the prejudice of their more favoured brethren."





26.8.58

